Legenda Christiani and Modern Historiography

David Kalhous

66 Epitomes rerum Boh: Lib: I. Cap: X.
Hactenus *Chriſtanni* Viri religioſiſſimi ac nobiliſſimi narratio, quam certum eſt mutilam eſſe, in eáque plurima deſiderari: quippe promiſerat quædam ſe in ſequentibus narraturum (ùt *Podivinus* ſanctitatem, mortem & miracula) quæ nuſquam apparent. Eſt autem præſens *Chriſtanni* narratio digniſſima, quæ ab omnibus Antiquitatis noſtræ ſtudioſis diligentiſſimè legatur, utpote *prima*, quod ſciamus, *in Bohemia Scriptoris*, cujus extet lucubratio, & qui plurima aliis ignota ſummâ brevitate perſtrinxerit; nos hæc *Notis* illuſtrabimus, magno forſitan (quod nolim in partem deteriorem accipi) operæ pretio, & hiſtoriæ Bohemæ compendio (quam rem judicent qui legerint) namque in iis *Notis* hæc præcipuè tractabuntur: in primis de *Bibliotheca Manuſcriptorum Codicum Trebona*, in qua à me præſens liber inventus eſt; tum *de Natalibus* clariſſimis *Chriſtanni*, déque propinquitate ſanguinis cum *D. Adalberto*, quem *Chriſtannus* ſuum appellat *Nepotem*; ſequitur accurata, & diligens tractatio *de veteribus Boiohemis, Marcomanis, Quadis, Vandalis & Venedis*; de *Slavorum* in Bohemiam adventu, unde, & quo tempore advenerint, quas poſtea colonias duxerint; de *Czecho*, an è *Croatia*, & quando acceſſerit, aliáque eodem pertinentia; deinde agetur de *Inventore Slavicarum litterarum*; de *Sacris Bibliis* in *Slavonicam* linguam converſis; de ritu *Miſſam celebrandi Slavonice*; de *Slavis Legatione Sedis Apoſtolicæ* ad Chriſti religionem adductis; de *Przemyslai* vel *Przemyſli* Bohemiæ ab aratro Principis magicis artibus, déque mirabili ejus ad noſtra uſque tempora nucceto; an S. *Cyrillo*, an S. *Methodio* plus debeat *Bohemia*? an S. *Clementis* Papæ & Martyris corpus unquam in *Bohemia* ſit viſum? an revera *Borzivoius primus* inter Principes noſtros Chriſto nomen dederit? quis *primus* è *Chriſtianis Sacerdos* in Bohemia, quod *primum* Templum? *Strogmiri* Principis pro *Borzivoio* electi & ex Boica revocati Genealogia; Ordo & ſucceſſio *Bohemiæ Ducum à Czecho* uſque ad *Borzivoum* Principem Chriſtianum; *Bella Caroli Magni*,ejiſque poſt eorum adverſus Bohemos nondum Chriſtianos; tum quidquid memorabile ab eo tempore geſtum apud nos ad tempora *Borzivoij & S. Wenceslas*, quem poſtremum *Martyrii* coronam adeptum eſſe, & jure *Martyrem* dici, Eccleſiæ authoritate adverſus quendam Sciolum adſtruitur. Hæc modò allata, pleraque aut à Scriptoribus noſtris omiſſa, aut controverſia hactenus fuêre, quæ in hiſce *Notis* adducuntur, & examinantur.

NOTÆ HISTORICÆ
In Vitam & Paſſionem S. *Ludmillæ* & S. Principis *Wenceslai*.
Hanc Vitam ex pervetuſto membraneo Codice, celebris Cœnobij Canonicorum Regularium S. *Auguſtini Trebonæ* in Bohemia A. 1645. deſcripſi. Non poſſum commendare ſatis benevolentiam Reverendiſſimi Præpoſiti *Norberti Heerman*, qui cùm Bibliothecam illam Manuſcriptorum ſat grandem in Cœnobio excuterem, non modò ipſe præſens id ſibi placere oſtendit, ſed Canonicos addidit, quorum alij libros levabant, alij inſpiciendos mihi offerebant, alij titulos, quos dictabam, annotabant, alij meliores ſeparabant; itâ labor, qui ad hebdomadas complures trahi debuerat, paucis diebus eſt abſo-

BRILL

Legenda Christiani and Modern Historiography

East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450

Edited by

Florin Curta

Legenda Christiani and Modern Historiography

By

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Points of View? Introduction

There are many different possible ways to write about historiography. We can focus on a specific region or historical period and enumerate the historians, their biographies and bibliographies. It is also possible to pay attention to the processes behind the formation of professional institutions. Or we can track the development of historical methods and how they have changed over the centuries. Biographies of famous historians belong to the historiography as well. In the last thirty years, inspired by Hayden White, we started to analyse the literary structure of historical monographs, as the history of our own discipline is an important part of the discourse that defines what we exactly do – is it science with strictly defined methods, or is history more akin to literature? Finally, we can also follow the historiographical debate around one specific topic and examine how the solutions changed through succeeding decades.

In this monograph, I would like to reevaluate an important historiographical debate about the authenticity of the so-called *Legenda Christiani* that began in the 18th century and never ended, although the consensus today is to accept its aunthenticity. Discussing a 200-year dispute enables us, of course, to see changing historiographical methods. However, as historiography can be defined as a communication game – struggle for prestige and power within the community of historians, it also allows us to understand this historiographical problem as a *symbolic centre*, as it was defined by Miloš Havelka inspired by Ernst Cassirer.[1] Although this debate was never an integral part of nationalistic discourse, there were still traces of metahistorical preconditions that impacted the results of every analysis. The problem of the *Legenda Christiani* could be understood as a part of a system-network called "historiography" that is defined as a group of certain problems and their solutions that historians acknowledge as relevant topics that is possible to analyze within the historiographic field. That community, however, is firmly linked to other social systems, the influence of which on the situation inside the community, while essential, changes

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1 Miloš Havelka, *Dějiny a smysl. Obsahy, akcenty a posuny „české otázky" 1895–1989* (Praha: NLN, 2001), 10, 12–18. His concept primarily focuses on the interaction between the world of historiography and the public. However, as there is always just a very limited group of specialists with detailed knowledge about certain problems and numerous group of historians that only accept the results presented by these specialists without discussing it thoroughly, we can use this concept in our text as well.

with time. Likewise, historiographic production is particularly sensitive to the language system, for the discipline does not necessarily rely on a specialized language and, employs a quite limited set of lexemes, and in fact encourages the use of more natural language. Historiography never ceases to be part of different social systems and historians use the languages of these systems to express their ideas and arguments and also to convince other professionals of the validity of their arguments. This allows me to apply linguistic theory, Bourdieu's concept of "literary field" – the concept of discourse as a theoretical framework, and also the vocabulary of the theory of games. Using the terminology of Imre Lakatos, we can not only analyse this historiographical debate "internally", as intellectual history, but also "externally", i.e. as social practice.[2]

First we need to take into consideration the problem of the correspondence between "language" and "mind."[3] Here, Donald Davidson's *"radical interpretation"* is very applicable to the nature of historiographic production. Davidson regards human communication acts as necessarily rational to the extent that rationality forms the basis for the interpretation of language, and thus of communication as well.[4] Recurring communication acts, and thus the stability of the language system and of its semantic elements, are predicated only on the above-mentioned premise.[5] The "issue" of stability is one of

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2   Imre Lakatos, "History of science and its rational constructions", in: *Historiography: Critical Concepts in Historical Studies, 3. Ideas*, edited by R. M. Burns (London – New York: Routledge, 2006), 197–199.

3   In its radical form, the hypothesis of identifying human thinking with language was formulated by Sapir and Whorf: *". . . perception and comprehension of reality differs in dependence to a language structure of a speaker,"* cf. Benjamin L. Whorf, "The Relation of Habitual Thought and Behavior in Language," in Benjamin L. Whorf, *Language, thought and reality*, edited by John B. Carroll (Cambridge, Mass.: Technology Press of Massachusetts Inst. of Technology, 1956), 134–159. Present-day analytical philosophers, e.g. Davidson or Orman van Quin, think in a similar fashion, see the following note. The theses of the aforementioned scholars is a basic premise of historical semantics.

4   See especially Donald Davidson, *Inquiries into Truth and Interpretation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 125–139; cf. Jaroslav Peregrin, *Význam a struktura* (Praha: Oikúmené, 1999), 144–168. This fact aso forms the basis of Berger and Luckmann's hypothesis of "objectification" as a necessary precondition of communicability, see Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality. A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 1991), 38–40.

5   That is, the premise of arbitrariness of language means as formulated in Ferdinand Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics* (New York – Toronto – London: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1959), 65–70, 131–134. By the arbitrariness Saussure means lack of motivation to connect a concrete sound with a certain object and not a completely deliberate selection by a speaker, who uses a language that already exists through a structured complex of statements, see

dynamic development, since a system is stable as long as the individual phenomenon of the given language recurs with sufficient frequency. The given language is, in fact, a system allowing communication that forms and structures our perception of the world outside culture no less than it creates culture itself. The measure of its success is the degree to which the richness and complexity of both grammar and lexicon match the complexity of the world outside the language and the need to grasp the world's complexity. It is precisely that measure which can explain the requirement of a minimal degree of language rationality. But while simple constructions and concrete terms can be easily verified by experiment in terms of their function and rationality, it is more difficult to test the rationality of those abstract terms which are fundamental for social sciences. In this case, the stability of a word or of grammatical relations, as well as of broader language structures cannot be regarded as absolute. On the contrary, they may be viewed as a measure of their own inertia that is as the equivalent of the energy necessary for changing those structures. With sufficient knowledge of their frequency, one can in principle explain the fuzzy character of words. In other words, the fuzzy character of words depends upon their frequency and is limited by the significance of the carried meaning in relation to other words. Words which are nearly meaningless constitute therefore the most stable aspect of language: frequent recurrence guarantees the preservation of unusual forms, which in turns protects those words against change. Moreover, their function in the language system delivers their meaning quite clearly. On the contrary, the special terminology of various scientific disciplines lacks the advantage of high frequency rates and must therefore rely on skillful expressions which often leaves us in a vicious circle. Therefore language itself is a changeable structure and it can be understood only as a changeable system emerging through communication and interaction of single speakers. From their point of view, language is also a communication game within which one can accept certain rules (the behavior of the majority) or, in turn, reject or change them, thus running a higher risk of misunderstanding.

The fuzzy character of terminology may also explain the difficulties emerging in the humanities. In those disciplines, the two-valued logic, which is based on the law of the excluded middle and allows for negative proofs, there is no success warranty in communication. The law of the excluded middle is not valid in fuzzy logic.[6]

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ibid., 68–69. That is also the reason for using the term "represent" by intention, as, on one side, I do not believe there is one possible interpretation of the world, on the other side.

6 According to Vilém Novák – Irina Perfilieva – Jiří Močkoř, *Mathematical principles of fuzzy logic*. The Springer International Series in Engineering and Computer Science 517 (Dodrecht:

For a better understanding of words (or of the process of how we understand them), it is useful to think about them in terms of "conceptual metaphors" in the sense George Lakoff, Mark Johnson or Hans Blumenberg present them.[7] Within their concept, words are not "innocent," strictly defined beings, but treacherous creatures that (mis)lead our thinking about certain problem and lead us, for example, to understand the argumentation as a kind of war.

The significance of language in the historiographic production is not based only on how stable terminology can be. In fact, the issue is far more apparent in the construction of the historiographic text. Literary analysis, and especially the study of syntax, are therefore of great significance for the understanding of the language of historians and of their rhetorical strategies.[8]

The dynamic stability not just of language as a complex system, but also the stability of partial discourses is also one of the key factors in the existence of different kinds of human communities – whether national, political, social or professional. (The persistence of communication in a certain form thus could be more important than the content of what is discussed.)[9] From this perspective the problem of the authenticity of *Legenda Christiani* could be understood as part of a system called "community of historians", where the legend itself is the main text to which this group is refering. That community, however, is firmly linked to other social systems, the influence of which on the situation inside the community, while essential, is only indirect, e.g. due to provided research ressources. Also the extent of public support is conditioned by the cultural norms that regulate the complexity of the culture as a system.

Second, of the same importance is Bourdieu's conception of the formation of a "literary field", i.e. a differentiated social field that is autonomous in the sense that it follows its own logic – the competition for cultural legitimation.[10]

Kluwer Academic, 1999): *"Compared to traditional binary sets* (*where variables may take on true or false values*)*, fuzzy logic variables may have a truth value that ranges in degree between 0 and 1. Fuzzy logic has been extended to handle the concept of partial truth, where the truth value may range between completely true and completely false."*

7   George Lakoff – Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980); Hans Blumeberg, *Paradigmen zu einer Mataphorologie* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2013).

8   See especially White, *Metahistory*, a pioneering work in this field.

9   On the importance of the issue as to maintaining continuity of science, see Gerald Holton, *Thematic Origins of Scientific Thought: Kepler to Einstein* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988). (I did not have the work at my disposal.)

10   Pierre Bourdieu, *Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 214–278. See Jürgen Gerhards and Helmut K. Anheier, "The Literary Field: An Empirical Investigation of Bourdieu's Sociology of Art," *International Sociology*

Through this competition, a "field" gains its internal hierarchical structure. The independence of a "historiographical field" can be in our case measured by the influence the society in general had on the community of professional historians and their debates. If the society only provides the community with ressources, passively accepts the results of the historical research and agrees with the internal criteria historians use to "measure" the quality of their monographs and studies, we can speak about "independent" historiography. The process of the formation of a "historiographical field" is closely connected with professionalisation of historiography, where the state shielded the professional qualifications of historians, holders of university degrees.[11] The independence of historians and their community became part of their identity. At some point in this process, as the volume of communication reached a critical level, formal institutions, communication channels, and specialized fora were established.[12] Their goal was to provide some basic rules of the profession and, on that basis, to decide who belonged to the community and who did not and also how the field should be structured. (Although there was always a goal to formulate those rules as an abstract system, Bourdieu's concept of concrete "pratiques" seems to be more appropriate.) This cognitive process included the "discovery" of the old manuscripts containing texts unknown before.

The *Legenda Christiani* is undoubtedly one of the sources to which historians paid much attention. It is interesting not just as a source, but also as a

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4 (1989): 131. However, we have to point out that Bourdieu's concept of the field in its latest formulation includes some inconsistencies. On one side, Bourdieu characterizes the fields as autonomous products of culture, on the other side he also stresses material conditions that limit that field and due to this also its autonomy. "Habitus" and "practices" as important concepts in Bourdieu's theory of the field are contradictory as well – phenomenological momentum, intentionality and changing form influenced by specific situation, "practice", stands against gained objective structuration of human behavior, characteristic for a certain community, "habitus". Conf. Marek Skovajsa, *Struktury a význam. Kultura a jednání v současné sociální teorii* (Praha: Slon, 2013), 97–155; Pierre Bourdieu, "Intellectual field and creative project," *Social Science Information* 8 (1969): 89–119. Bourdieu's concept of field as an autonomous "playground" is comparable with Luhmann's idea of autonomous autopoeitic systems, see his *Soziale Systeme. Grundriss einer allgemeiner Theorie*, 15th ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2012), 43, 61–70.

11   Pierre Bourdieu, *Der Staatsadel* (Konstanz: UVK Universitätsverlag Konstanz, 2004).

12   On establishment of social order, and thus also of historiography in an institutional sense, as an inevitable process of externalization and habitualization, see Berger and Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality*, 70–85. A process of harmonization within externalization as a process of mutual correction assumes rationality of human action or, rather, its interpretability. Berger and Luckmann's description of this process is not far from the physical idea of spreading and reception of information.

subject of dispute. It helps us observe the atmosphere of contemporary society in the background of the dispute, especially in regards to historiography. In addition, the way in which scholars argue provide us with useful insight into their strategies within the field.

Managing the profession may then be conceptualized as the acceptance of a minimum number of solutions, as professional habit[13] by those seeking for acknowledgment as a historian, and as the ability of a to-be-professional to alter at least one of them. (Conversely, a hierarchy of scholars at any given time is based on the quantity of the solutions each one of them is able to alter.) As the community grows, it finds itself in a precarious situation for its complexity will diminish as a growing number of solutions receive general acceptance. This also leads to specialization, i.e. to the establishment of semi-autonomous fields within the field. Nevertheless, the cooperative strategy, i.e. strategy where we tend to accept the conclusions of someone else and use it to build our own hypothesis, which appears as important at the beginning for the need to accept a minimal set of solutions, is just one of many possible strategies to get a position within the hierarchized field. Every historian can opt for the critical strategy, i.e. strategy where we prefer to deconstruct the assumptions and arguments of primary and secondary sources, aiming at obtaining a larger prize at a higher risk.[14] Moreover, that particular strategy appears as legitimate, because to change just one solution is the minimal condition for acceptance in any given community of scholars. Only the relation between the current status of the researcher and the current number of solutions should determine the degree of success of that strategy. In reality, many other factors contribute to the success of the researcher. Accessibility, and therefore comprehensibility, allows Umberto Eco's "Model Reader of the first level"[15] to follow the ideas of any given researcher. Furthermore, those attributes allow every other profes-

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13   With "solution" I understand qualified, it means acknowledgeable within the discourse, oppion on a certain problem. (As what is the problem is also a construct, one might define something as problem within certain discourse as well.) I prefer to use this tearm instead of "historic fact" that implies kind of firmness which it does not have as a complex structure defined by the community of specialists.

14   It will be worthy of further research to analyse under which conditions critical strategy prevails. In my opinion this is influenced not just by personal dispositions of each researcher, but preeminently by the density of communication in historiographical field and amount of available resources.

15   Umberto Eco, "The Woods of Loisy," in Umberto Eco, *Six Walks in the Fictional Woods* (Harvard University Press, 1994), 27 recognizes "model reader of the first level", who is able to fully understand the story and "model reader of the second level" who also comprehends the way the author structured the text to manipulate (or lead) the reader.

sional historian to understand the researcher's work and thus enable its reception by other historians who may not be as familiar with the problem at stake and who will therefore rely on authority alone when evaluating the validity of the solution offered. In other words, complexity of the system is in a dynamic balance when the number of solutions under discussion decreases, while at the same time new issues are introduced or the old one reintroduced.

Therefore, the third important concept that needs to be taken into consideration is discourse, or more precisely discourse strategies. Being part of historiographical discourse means to participate in the cumulated prestige of the historiographical community and can be recognized as an important factor in the professional identity of any historian.[16] To gain the "victory" (or temporary prevailance) in discussion brings one a more important position within the community. In this regard, historical criticism should not be regarded only as a reflection of the contact between the individual, contemporary culture and the past but (rather) as an endeavor to communicate within the community of historians often with a subconscious aim to put through one's own opinions. In other words, historical criticism (and a sharp pen) may be viewed as a certain communication strategy.[17]

Another important attribute of a newly created historiographical field is the creation of different genres written about history – on one side, professionals writing for professionals, on the other side professionals writing for people interested in history, but often without specicialized education. A good signal of these processes being in motion is certainly the series called "Czech History" inspired by "Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reiches" that was intended as a new synthesis of Czech history that should have replaced Palacký's "History of the Czech nation in Bohemia and Moravia". The difference between these texts was as significant as were their possible audiences.

Moreover, with historiography, one can apply algebra and game theory to build quite an elaborate model of historiographic production. However, measuring the degree of success for that production and validating the solutions offered is always a matter concerning systems outside the "context" of the historiographic production. The understanding of past communication acts, such as historical sources, requires an essentially larger number of premises: the validity of parallels; the assumption that human society is homogeneous; the essential difference between human groups; the consistency of the

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16   For Lucie Storchova, *Paupertate styloque connecti. Utváření humanistické učenecké komunity v českých zemích* (Praha: Scriptorium, 2011).

17   Disputes within historiography can be characterized in terms of game theory. For more, see p. 122–124.

source's author;[18] the validity of the grammar in use, etc. Whether or not the understanding of those past communication acts is correct cannot be verified by experiment. While in the process of learning a foreign language or in the interpretation of a physical phenomenon, one can always adjust or correct the interpretation by means of other perceptions, this is impossible in historiography. In other words, the decision the "community" makes on the validity of any category of the statements plays a comparatively greater role. The "community" must necessarily rely in this process on a certain number of solutions. Transferred into the language of historiography, history and memory are rarely, if ever, crystal-clear.

The following book is not a result of archival study. On the contrary, the works of the protagonists of the dispute have been used as a primary source. In the following pages, we will focus not only on particular arguments, but also on certain common themes which may be viewed as typical of a certain stage of the discussion. These allow us to find a relationship between the ways in which the historiographic issues of a given period of time were treated. For this purpose, the importance and frequency of various arguments will be considered, including the indicia allowing us to measure the "distance" between the historiography and the rest of the society in a given period of time.[19]

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18   Cf. n. 30, p. 131.

19   It is not easy to approach this issue, since the only monograph dealing with this topic is Elena Glushko, *Medieval Challenges Modern: Legenda Christiani and Its Author in Czech Historiography His Legend* (Saarbrücken: Müller 2008). This work is based on a MA thesis defended at Central European University in Budapest. I thank the author that she kindly provided me a copy of her thesis, while I was working on this book. In her study, Elena Glushko focused on the relation between Christianus as the legend's author, duke's brother of the same name and Strachkvas from the *Chronicle of Cosmas* in works of historians and philologists, see ibid., 12.

Certainty and Doubts: *Legenda Christiani* in the Controversy of the Baroque and Enlightenment Era

It was in the Baroque era, despite some meager attempts in previous centuries, that a systematic and critical study began to be devoted to ancient sources.[1] One of the results was *Acta sanctorum*, the materialization of the program of Catholic scholars from Society of Jesus led by Jean Bolland (1596–1665) to analyze hagiographic texts, identifying valid information contained in those texts and thereby support and safeguard the cult of the saints. At the same time, the first scholars in diplomatics appeared, the vast majority of them at the Faculties of Law and in monasteries, and they continued the endeavors of the previous lawyers and theologians, such as the well-known advocate Du Cange. Only a few of those scholars could make a living from studying history. As a consequence, their works were no longer just a hobby, the fruits of which were meant to be offered only to close friends.

The publishing of historical studies enabled people concerned with history not only to read, but also to criticize the research made by their colleagues. Slowly, through the reception and analysis of printed information, and the rejection or acceptance of the products of their peers, a community of historians came to appear.[2] The community of historians started to separate from the larger group of intellectuals by using different discursive strategies that emphasized the specifics of historical methods and independence of historical studies over other fields of learned interest.[3] Within that community, opinions on information and approaches in terms of their validity and acceptability were being formed and also transformed. However, the time of history as a specific discipline came later with the establishment of new university cathedras during 19th century. The learned men of 17th and 18th century were still scholars of many interests – even Josef Dobrovský, who we will speak about later, was a philologist, theologian and historian.

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1   On shifts of scholarly discours in the Baroque period, see Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (London: Tavistock Publications Ltd., 1970). As this chapter aims rather at shifts of ways of thinking about the *Legenda Christiani*, accuracy of ideas presented in this regard is not discussed here.

2   See above, p. 4–7.

3   See above, p. 4–7.

Scholars of the early Baroque period learned about the *Legenda Christiani* from Bohuslav Balbín (1621–1688), who was the first to publish it. When he found Christian's work in the archives of Třeboň, he had no doubts about its authenticity.[4] Although he was involved in the *Acta Sanctorum* project and took a realistic approach to his sources, he had no reason not to trust this legend as a legitimate source.[5] He considered his discovery very valuable and did not hesitate to use it when bringing to light the history of Great Moravia since *"(he) found Christian, who was also the son of a prince, more trustworthy because of his small distance from the events he was describing than others who were writing much later."*[6] Moreover, Balbín, relying on the document issued by Boleslav II (972–999) for the Břevnov Monastery (993), identified Christian with the son of Boleslav I. At the same time, he concluded that if Christian had been St. Adalbert's *"nephew"* (*"nepos"*), then the bishop Vojtěch-Adalbert's mother Střezislava must have been his sister. He did not doubt the legend's authentic-

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4   R. Urbánek claims, without giving any evidence, that Jan Tanner (1623–1694) was the first who found the work in the *Archive of the Metropolitan Chapter in Prague* in 1659, see Rudolf Urbánek, *Legenda t. zv. Kristiána ve vývoji předhusitských legend ludmilských i václavských a její autor* (Prague: Česká akademie věd a umění, 1947), vol. 1.1, 7. Considering that Balbín discovered the legend in 1645, that is, 14 years earlier, Urbánek's assertion cannot be taken for granted.

5   In some issues, he dared argue even against such an authority as Václav Hájek of Libočany and his *Chronicle*. Balbín took over the order of succession of the earliest Přemyslids from him, but the chronology compiled on his own on the basis of original sources. See Bohuslav Balbín, *Epitome rerum bohemicarum ... Boleslaviensium historiam placuit appellare*, vol. 1.10 (Pragae: Universitas Carolo-Ferdinandea, 1677), 82–88. The legend with a commentary was published ibid., 66–90. For his contacts with bollandists see Stefan Benz, *Zwischen Tradition und Kritik. Katholische Geschichtsschreibung im barocken Heiligen Römischen Reich* (Historische Studien 473) (Husum: Matthiesen Verlag, 2003), 77.

6   Ibid., 78: *"... aut horitas enim Christiani, qui Principis filius, prope fuit temporis gesta scribebat, majorem apud me, quam ii, qui longe post scripserunt, fidem merentur ..."* Baroque historiography in the Czech lands is not a profoundly treated topic, see at least Eduard Petrů, "Bohuslav Balbín jako teoretik literatury a literární historik," in: Bohuslav Balbín a kultura jeho doby v Čechách. Sborník z konference PNP (Prague: Památník národního písenictví, 1992), 161–164; Hans Rothe, "Die Bohemia Docta des Bohuslaus Balbín," in Studien zum Humanismus in den böhmischen Ländern, vol. 3, *Die Bedeutung der humanistischen Topographien und Reisebeschreibungen in der Kultur der böhmischen Länder bis zur Zeit Balbíns*, edited by Hans-Bernd Harder and Hans Rothe (Dresden: Dresden University Press, 1993), 299–315; Ludger Udolph, "Bohuslav Balbín als Landeshistoriker," in Tschechisches Barock: Sprache, Literatur, Kultur, edited by Gertraude Zand and Jiří Holý (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1999), 163–178; Benz, *Zwischen Tradition und Kritik*, 208–213, 219–220.

ity because he regarded Christian as the saint's relative and, if not an eyewitness, at least an author writing shortly after the events described.

When passing judgment on Balbín's approach, it is necessary to take into account the fact that Balbín was the first person to have read the legend in order to make it accessible to other historians. Furthermore, methods of textual criticism or palegographical analysis were not used systematicaly before the first half of 19th century. Thus, it comes as no surprise that we can see many discrepancies between the well-formulated programs of systematic research published in introductions and real analysis further in the text.[7] This may also explain why he understood the text on the basis of other sources rather than making some attempt to examine its authenticity.

It was the generation of Enlightenment historians[8] who expressed the first doubts, for they all disliked hagiography and regarded charters as a more trustworthy source of "objective facts".

Gelasius Dobner (1719–1790)[9] was the first historian to speak against the authenticity of the *Legenda Christiani* in his never published debate *Examen Historico-Chronologico-Criticum, an Christiani…Vita seu Passio…*[10] He started with Balbín's assumption that Christian was the son of Boleslav I (935–972) (called Strachkvas in the *Chronicle* of Cosmas of Prague), since in

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7   Jan Marco Sawilla, *Antiquarianismus, Hagiographie und Historie im 17. Jahrhundert. Zum Werk der Bollandisten. Ein wissenschaftshistorischer Versuch* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2009), 112–139.

8   See František Kutnar and Jaroslav Marek, *Přehledné dějiny českého a slovenského dějepisectví: Od počátků národní kultury až do sklonku třicátýchlet 20. století*, 2nd ed. (Prague: Lidové noviny, 1997), 142–173; Jaroslav Marek, "Osvícenské dějepisectví v českém historickém myšlení," *ČMM* 87 (1968): 187–210; Josef Petráň, "Ke genezi novodobé koncepce českých národních dějin," *AUC Phil.-Hist.* 5/1982 (1986), 67–90; Eduard Maur, "Pojetí národa v české osvícenské historiografii. Ignác Cornova a František Martin Pelcl," in *Mezi časy…Kultura a umění v Českých zemích kolem roku 1800. Sborník příspěvků z 19. ročníku sympozií k problematice 19. století* (Praha: KLP-Koniasch Latin Press, 2000), 134–146.

9   Milan Kudělka, "Gelasius Dobner," *Věstník Československé akademie věd* 78, no. 2 (1969): 205–222; Josef Haubelt, *Dějepisectví Gelasia Dobnera*, AUC, Phil. et Hist. Monographia 80 (Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 1979).

10   See Josef V. Šimák, "Pozůstalost Dobnerova," *ČNM* 75 (1901): 134 – „LX d): Rkp. o 78 nestránkovaných stranách textu + 8 stran poznámek, latině i v německé verzi./ LX d): MS of 78 p. (unpaginated) + 8 p. of notes, in Latin and German version." According to Haubelt, *Dějepisectví Gelasia Dobnera*, 40, this text is not available nowadays. However, individual Dobner's arguments are summarized e.g. in *Wenceslai Hagek a Liboczan Annales Bohemorum*, vol. 4, edited by Gelasius Dobner (Prague: Typis Johannae Sophiae Clauserin, regii typogr. factore Francisco Carolo Unger 1772), 328–332, or Josef Pekař, *Nejstarší kronika česká* (Prague: Bursík a Kohout, 1903), 79–83.

Dobner's opinion, Christian's identity was Balbín's main argument in defending the legend's authenticity. But Dobner had doubts about Christian being the author of the legend, for as a monk he could have hardly written anything bad about his own father.[11] Moreover, he regarded Přibyslava's attempt to take hold of Wenceslas's relics with the help of a priest as an indication of a much later origin of the legend.[12] To Dobner, another argument in favor of a later date for the legend's text was that the legend was not mentioned in any later source.[13] Balbín believed that the language of Christian was artificial, for he used terms that were not in use during the time of events narrated.[14] But Dobner used this argument against Balbín: if Christian had a poor knowledge of the realities of his story's time (he believed, for example, that Methodius had had seven suffragan bishops),[15] then the legend must be of a much later date. Dobner concluded by declaring the author to be Christian of Skála, a councilor of King Přemysl Otakar I (1197–1230).

Ethical arguments, i.e. that a son would not put his father in a negative light, were important to Dobner, but he was also the first to call attention to the possibility of a broader array of comparison. Indeed for his study he used, if only *pro forma*, not only several other sources, but also linguistics (a nascent science at that time) and textual criticism. His approach would therefore be adopted by all those who dealt with the *Legenda Christiani* in the subsequent years. Dobner believed that the literary language changed between the early to the late Middle Ages, and, although never explicitly making such a statement, that the later language was more elaborate. He argued this as proof of a later date for the *Legenda Christiani*. Nonetheless, he advanced no criteria for assessing that change.

Dobner's learned friend and colleague, Athanasius a S. Iosepho (1709–1772), an Augustianian, born Eliáš Sandrich,[16] disagreed with Dobner's arguments. Having familiarized himself with Dobner's manuscript, Athanasius a S. Iosepho decided to publish a new edition of the *Legenda Christiani* and to write a polemical introduction for it. In that introduction, he treated the historical accuracy of the events narrated in the legend as evidence for the text's

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11   Pekař, Nejstarší kronika česká, 79–83.

12   Ibid.

13   Ibid.

14   Ibid.

15   Ibid., 82.

16   *Vita s. Ludmilae et s. Wenceslai Bohemiae ducum et martyrum, authore Christianno monacho ...*, ed. Athanasius a s. Iosepho (Pragae 1767). See also Haubelt, *Dějepisectví Gelasia Dobnera*, 42–46.

earlier origin.[17] Referring to the existence of a coin with the legend *"EMMA REGINA – MELNIC CIVITAS"*,[18] Athanasius a S. Iosepho argued that Mělník could have already been a civitas in the tenth century. In support of his defense of the *Legenda Christiani*, he also pointed to certain remarks of Cosmas of Prague concerning sources that he had at his disposal and which appeared to have contained the same information that could be found in Christian's work.[19] Along the same lines, he made much out of the presence of the name of Podiven in both the *Chronicle of Cosmas of Prague* and the *Legenda Christiani*, but not in any other medieval legend or chronicle.[20] According to Athanasius a S. Iosepho, that Methodius was mentioned as having seven suffragan bishops cannot be considered an anachronism, but point rather to the situation during the author's lifetime.[21] He did not pay much attention to the literary style of the legend, but was convinced that it was compatible with the idea of a tenth-century author.[22] He also rejected Dobner's "ethical argument" and argued instead that in the legend it is not *"a son, but a historian"* who addressed the audience.[23]

Josef Dobrovský (1753–1829),[24] who at that time was already a recognized scholarly authority, was not convinced by Athanasius' polemical tract.

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17   Introduction to *Vita s. Ludmilae et s. Wenceslai*, 19.

18   Ibid., 12–13.

19   Ibid., 10. Cf. *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum* 2.13, 35: *"Qualiter autem gratia Dei semper preveniente et ubique subsequente dux Borivoy adeptus sit sacramentum baptismi, aut quomodo per eius successores his in partibus de die in diem sancta processerit religio catholicae fidei, vel qui dux quas aut quot primitus ecclesias credulus erexit ad laudem Dei, maluimus pretermittere, quam fastidium legentibus ingere, quia iam ab aliis scripta legimus: quedam in privilegio Moraviensis ecclesie, quedam in epilogo eiusdem terre atque Boemie, quedam in vita vel passione sanctissimi nostri patroni et martyris Wenczlai; nam et esce execrantur, que sepius sumuntur."*

20   Introduction to *Vita s. Ludmilae et s. Wenceslai*, 11.

21   Ibid., 23. The so-called Pilgrim's forgeries are concerned here. Nevertheless, they date back to the 10th century. Despite their nature they can thus serve as an evidence of some historical consciousness of that time.

22   Ibid., 19.

23   Ibid., 9: *"Christiannus monachus non agit hic personam filii, sed historici."* It follows from this sentence that he realized the difference between an author and a narrator, which was later formulated by modern literary science.

24   Josef Táborský, *Reformní katolík Josef Dobrovský* (Brno: L. Marek 2007); Milan Machovec, *Josef Dobrovský* (Prague: Svobodné slovo, 1964); Oldřich Králík, "Josef Dobrovský a Gelasius Dobner: Příspěvek k dějinám osvícenské kritiky," in *Josef Dobrovský, 1753–1953: Studie k dvoustému výročí narození*, edited by Bohuslav Havránek and Julius Dolanský (Prague: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1953), 361–412. An overview of
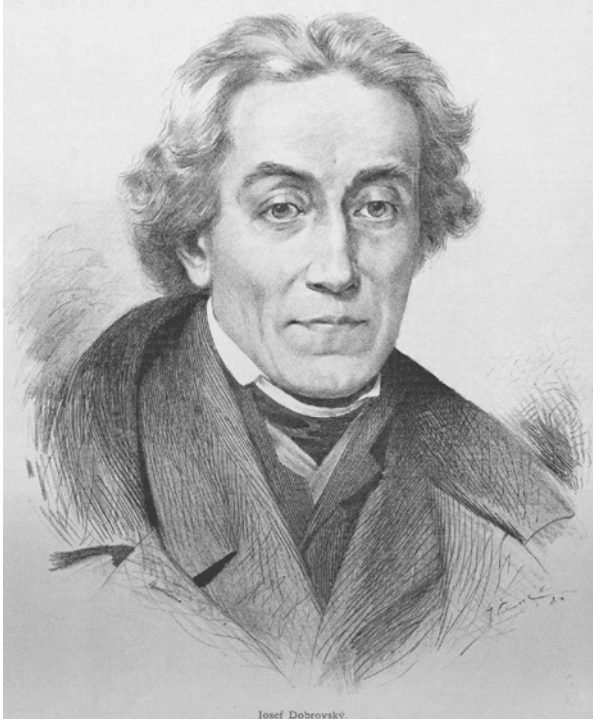
FIGURE 1   *Josef Dobrovský (1753–1829), a private scholar in*
             history, codicology and Slavic philology. Portret by
             Jan Vilímek (1860–1938).

Dobrovský's goal was somewhat different, in that he wanted to verify the
reports on the mission of Cyril and Methodius on the basis of a comparative
study of sources.[25] Dobrovský's approach to the earliest history of Bohemia
was conducted along these lines. He wrote three *Critical Attempts* (*Kritische
Versuche*) on this problem and in the first of which he dealt with Bořivoj's
baptism and the analysis of the earliest sources pertaining to the history of
Bohemia.

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the issue of Dobrovský's critical studies on Czech history features František M. Bartoš,
"Dobrovského 'Kritische Versuche': S dodatkem o legendách svatoprokopských," *čnm*
103 (1929): 22–51. His korespondence is mostly edited in edition *Souborné vydání spisů a
projevů Josefa Dobrovského*.

25   Josef Dobrovský, *Cyril a Metod, apoštolové slovanští*, Spisy a projevy Josefa Dobrovského 12,
       edited by Josef Vajs (Prague: Melantrich, 1948), 21.

Dobrovský concluded that in writing his *Legenda*, Christian employed Gumpold's *Legend*, the *Crescente fide*, as well as the *Diffundente sole*.[26] In his next essay, Dobrovský also maintained that Christian must be viewed as a late fourteenth-century author and was convinced that Dalimil would have used the Strojmír story from the *Legenda Christiani*, had he known about it.[27] Instead, according to Dobrovský, Christian borrowed *"variemus nos"* from the *Chronicle of Dalimil*, which was written in the early 1300s and in which the motif appears in the narrative of events taking place between 1173 and 1178.[28]

Furthermore, Dobrovský emphasized the account of Bořivoj's baptism. Since Christian is the first author to mention that event, and since there is no mention of it either in Gumpold's work or in the *Crescente fide*, the *Legenda Christiani* must therefore be of an earlier date than the tradition represented in Gumpold and *Crescente fide*.[29] According to Dobrovský, no author before Cosmas of Prague had knowledge of Bořivoj's baptism. Cosmas learned about it from the *Moravian Church Epilogue*, a work supposedly written by an eleventh-century monk either of the Rajhrad Abbey or of the Benedictine monastery in Hradisko.[30]

At the end of his first essay, Dobrovský published his edition of the *Diffundente sole*, a legend which his contemporaries believed to be the earliest source pertaining to medieval Bohemia. He published the text of the *Diffundente sole* in parallel with those passages of the *Legenda Christiani*,

26   Josef Dobrovský, *Bořivoj's Taufe: Zugleich eine Probe, wie man alte Legenden für die Geschichte benutzen soll*, Kritische Versuche die ältere böhmische Geschichte von späteren Erdichtungen zu reinigen 1 = Abh. d. kgl. Böhm. Ges. d. Wiss. (Prague 1803), 23, 68.

27   Ibid., 35–39.

28   Josef Dobrovský, *Wenzel und Boleslaw: Die ältesten Legende vom h. Wenzel, als Probe, wie die alte Legenden für die Geschichte benützen soll*, Kritische Versuche die ältere böhmische Geschichte von späteren Erdichtungen zu reinigen 3 = Abh. d. kgl. Böhm. Ges. d. Wiss. (Prague, 1819), 28–29. See *Staročeská kronika tak řečeného Dalimila*, vol. 2, edited by Jiří Daňhelka et al. (Prague: Academia, 1988), 221–222.

29   Dobrovský, *Bořivoj's Taufe*, 42–45. However, Dobrovský did not provide a proof of its late origin. In any case, it must have been written no later than the early 12th century, for Cosmas knew this legend.

30   Ibid., 67–68. On the issue of the so-called Old Slavonic liturgy see David Kalhous, *Anatomy of a Duchy. The Political and Ecclesiastical Structures of Early Přemyslid Bohemia* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2012), 208–237. Dobrovský had no explanation for what appears to be a weak link in his chain or reasoning: why could a mid-eleventh-century, but not a late tenth-century author capture or create a tradition pertaining to the baptism of Bořivoj by Methodius, Archbishop of Moravia, the primary topic of Dobrovsky's work. Moreover, he was not apparently aware of the historical implications of this event, namely that priests celebrating the Slavonic liturgy may have been present in Bohemia at the time of its conversion to Christianity. Conf. Dobrovský, *Bořivoj's Taufe*, 111.

repeating the same information, and followed by his own historical commen-
tary in which he cleared up many disputed issues regarding the text of the
legend.

In his later works, Dobrovský dealt more with the historical events of
the tenth century than with the authenticity of the *Legenda Christiani*. Like
Dobner, he nonetheless found it hard to believe that Adalbert would have
asked Boleslav's son to write a work about the man murdered at his father's
orders.[31] Moreover, Dobrovský believed Christian to have copiously borrowed
from Cosmas of Prague.[32]

Not only was Josef Dobrovský aware of all the manuscripts known in his
times,[33] but he was also the first to use textual criticism, for he had been
comparing the *Legenda Christiani* with other texts, looking for its models.[34]
However, he apparently did not sufficiently trust this method, for he spent a
considerable amount of time trying to piece together the partial results of his
studies in order to provide a complex picture of the life in the tenth century.
Arguments *ad hominem auctoris* no longer played a role in his work. Dobrovský
considered the *Legenda Christiani* as a literary text and not some kind of his-
torical monograph, as shown by his discussion and appreciation of Christian's
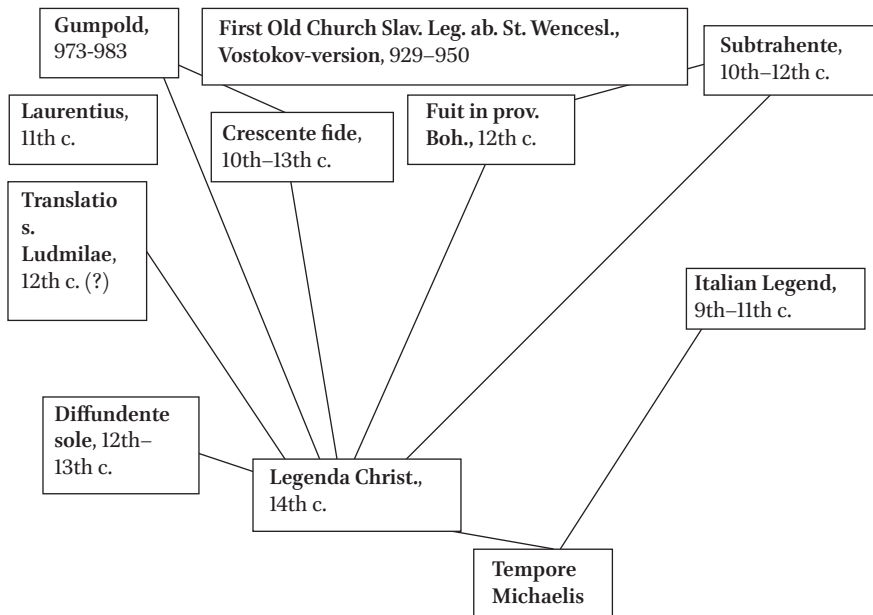style.[35] However, he was not unique to historiographers of his era who believed

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31   Dobrovský, *Wenzel und Boleslaw*, 18–19.

32   Ibid., 20, 31. In the preceding volumes he endeavoured to prove Kristian's dependence on
      Dalimil, which is mentioned in this study as well.

33   For his codicological research conf. Miloslav Krbec – Zděněk Šimeček, "Tradice dějepisné
      práce na Moravě a Josef Dobrovský. Listy Josefa Dobrovského Alexiu Habrichovi z let
      1788–1790," *Acta Universitatis Palackinae Olomucensis: Facultas Pedagogica – Phillogica* 3
      (1985): 69–101.

34   Dobrovský, *Bořivoj's Taufe*, 12–14.

35   For example, to him Christian's way of presenting the events often features literary
      stylization *"dramatisch, mit eben der Freiheit, mit welcher der Romanenschreiberein his-
      torisches Thema zu bearbeiten pflegen"*, see Dobrovský, *Bořivoj's Taufe*, 35, in connection
      with the story of Bořivoj, who was forced to sit in front of Svatopluk's table. Dobrovský
      claimed that the story cannot be compared with the report on the magnate Ingo –
      allegedly because of the mutual status of Bořivoj and Svatopluk. Moreover, Dobrovský did
      not believe in the authenticity of Methodius' speech as well as in generally accepted size
      of Bořivoj's retinue. However, it was Hippolyte Delehaye who first interpreted legends as
      historical sources sui generis. See his Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les légendes hagiographiques*
      (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1906). Nevertheless, the understanding of hagi-
      ography as a literary genre could not prevent historians from thinking about the ques-
      tion of to what extent these texts reflect the times of their origin, even if in terms of
      stereotypes of behaviour. Thus the old dispute continues, just on a different level. More
      recent attempts to employ Propp's methodology are interesting with regard to literary
      critical research. Still, this kind of question is not irrelevant even in terms of historical

Gumpold, 973-983

First Old Church Slav. Leg. ab. St. Wencesl., Vostokov-version, 929–950

Subtrahente, 10th–12th c.

Laurentius, 11th c.

Crescente fide, 10th–13th c.

Fuit in prov. Boh., 12th c.

Translatio s. Ludmilae, 12th c. (?)

Italian Legend, 9th–11th c.

Diffundente sole, 12th–13th c.

Legenda Christ., 14th c.

Tempore Michaelis

STEMMA 1   *Stemma according to Josef Dobrovský and his followers (PEKAŘ, J.: Ku kritice legend, p. 461). For existing texts I used bold format.*

that legends and chronicles were not just "sources of information", but also texts with some literary aspirations.

It is symptomatic of Dobrovský's cristicism that he gave to one of his texts the subtitle "the attempt to purge the history of Bohemia of later stories", whereas in his first "Critical Attempt" he promised his readers that he would provide them with the "true method" of the use of the hagiographical sources

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science, since medieval texts cannot be regarded as completely literary in the present-day sense, that is, as deliberate fiction compiled according the rules of literary field. As will be mentioned later in this text, it is only in the modern period when literary and historical discourse based on quite an unstable consensus are distinguished. In the Middle Ages, these two aspects overlapped, also because of the orientation of authors, and were interspersed with a strong element of theological discourse as well. The term "medieval literature" is used in the following pages in trying to point out that medieval texts should not be considered as naive and banal messages that provide, without much labour, clear information of the medieval world. Even simple statements may sometimes be a cunning means of a communication strategy, as e.g. an analysis of Odyssey shows Tzvetan Todorov, "Primitive Narrative: The Narratives of Odysseus," in Tzvetan Todorov. *Poetics of prose*. (Cornell University Press: New York 1977).

by the reconstruction of history.[36] First, he made his readers believe that his methods and results were the right ones – no one can doubt that "purity" or "true" have positive connotations in our discourse and while using this vocabulary of truthfulness and purity, Dobrovský also supported his arguments rhetoricaly. Second, he also connected his methods with one, truthful image of historical reality. Furthermore, Dobrovský skillfuly used the authority of previous researchers – an authority that he himself helped to create. For example, he called Dobner a "man of great perspicacity" and emphasized the skills that enabled him to recognize *Legenda Christiani* as a text written during 12th century; he also added that he wanted to follow Dobner's criticism in his own work.[37] Methaphors used in his work also demonstrate that he imagined the text as an onion which had layers of skin that had be peeled off if one wanted to recognize the hidden crux of the matter.[38]

When considering the context of the whole debate, it is surprising that Dobrovský continued the appreciation of Christian's literary style, given that he did not rely much upon literary details in order to prove the legend's authenticity. Indeed, nowhere did Dobrovský provide a literary analysis of the work, but simply used it to check on the "factual" relevance of "literary" passages in the *Legenda Christiani*. In other words, Dobrovský failed to recognize the importance of the literary aspect of historical writing and of the creation of information as a specific problem of hagiography. As a consequence, at a closer look, Dobrovský's general conclusions appear fundamentally contradictory. On one hand, he rejected the idea of Christian as a source for the history of the ninth or tenth century, but on the other hand, his own account of the events of the late ninth century did not differ much from that of Christian himself.[39]

In his *Appreciation of the Old Czech History Writers* (*Würdigung der alten böhmischen Geschichtsschreiber*), František Palacký (1789–1876),[40] himself the epitome of history writing in the era of Romanticism, both accepted and used

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36 Conf. n. 33 and 35. See also Dobrovský, *Bořivoj's Taufe*, 25. Conf. also what he himself wrote to his friend Cerroni, *Dopisy Josefa Dobrovského s Janem Petrem Cerronim*, ed. F. M. Bartoš (Praha: Státní tiskárna v Praze, 1948), nr. 39, 94: *"Uebrigens wird dieser Versuch manchen in Mähren wohl kaum behagen. Wer kann helfen? Der Kritiker fordert alte Zeugnisse. Indessen ist der Versuch selbst, seiner Natur nach, so trocken, dass ihn wenige durchlesen warden. Ein Roman von Swatopluk möchte etwa viel besser gefallen."*

37 Dobrovský, *Bořivoj's Taufe*, 5.

38 Ibid., 5–6: *". . . so ist es des Kritikers Beruf und Pflicht, durch Scheidung der späteren Zusätze die reine Wahrheit herauszudringen."*

39 For similar contradictions see n. 48, p. 21.

40 František Palacký, *Würdigung der alten böhmischen Geschichtsschreiber* (Prague: Borosch, 1830), 293–297. To classify Palacký as belonging to the Enlightenment or, as the case may

Dobrovský's ideas about the tradition of Wenceslas and Ludmila of Bohemia. It is in fact Palacký who secured the adoption and reproduction of those ideas by many subsequent generations of Czech historians.[41] This took place despite the discovery and publication of the *First Old Church Slavonic Legend*[42] by Václav Hanka (1791–1861). Both Pavel Josef Šafařík (1795–1861) and Palacký himself dealt with this important text soon after its publication. The mere existence of this legend considerably undermined Dobrovský's argument about the insignificant influence of the Old Church Slavonic literature, on which he partially based his interpretation of Christian and the history of ninth- and tenth-century Bohemia.[43]

Over the next century or so, only four authors dealt specifically with early medieval Bohemian legends: Max Büdinger (1828–1902),[44] Václav Vladivoj Tomek (1818–1905),[45] Josef Kalousek (1838–1915),[46] and Wilhelm Wattenbach (1819–1897).[47] None of them could ignore the authority of Palacký's arguments, with their own scholarship based on the authority of Dobrovský's work. This is particularly true for Tomek's treatise on the legend *Fuit* and on the *Wattenbach Legend* authority, in which he tried to prove that the latter – a

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be, Romantic historiography is not easy and Czech historians realized this fact already deep in the past.

41 Already J. Pekař pointed out a considerable authority of Dobrovský and its impact on a subborness of his views, see Josef Pekař, "Nejstarší kronika česká: Ke kritice legend o sv. Ludmile a sv. Václavu," *ČČH* 8 (1902): 478–479. (Hereafter quoted according to the subtitle.) Pekař considered Dobrovský as *"hyperkritika bez smyslu pro vyšší kritiku historickou / a hypercritic devoid of the feeling for sofisticated historical criticism,"* see ibid., 477. Here, I cannot agree with Pekař as Dobrovský was well aware of the limits of analysis and was able to see the forest through the trees.

42 Václav Hanka, "Petrohradská Legenda o svatém Václavu," *ČNM* 4 (1830): 453–462.

43 František Palacký, "O umučení sv. Václava, podlé legendy slovanské, úvaha kritická," *ČNM* 11 (1837): 406–417.

44 Max Büdinger: "Zur Kritik der altböhmischen Geschichte," *Zeitschrift für österreichische Gymnasien* 7 (1857): 502–525.

45 Václav Vladivoj Tomek, "Svatá Ludmila a Čechy za jejího věku," *ČNM* 34 (1860): 263–296, esp. 263–275. Tomek used the following arguments in favour of the ancientness of the legend: 1. The legend mentions the extinction of Gomon's offspring; 2. It does not refer to the translation of Ludmilas relics; 3. It seems that Cosmas used it.

46 Josef Kalousek, Obrana knížete Václava Svatého proti smyšlenkám a křivým úsudkům o jeho povaze (Prague: Theodor Mourek, 1872).

47 Wilhelm Wattenbach, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der christlichen Kirche in Mähren und Böhmen* (Vienna: Gerold, 1849); Wilhelm Wattenbach, "Die slawische Liturgie in Böhmen und die altrussische Legende vom heiligen Wenzel," *Abh. d. hist.-phil. Gesellschaft in Bresslau* 1 (1857): 205–240.
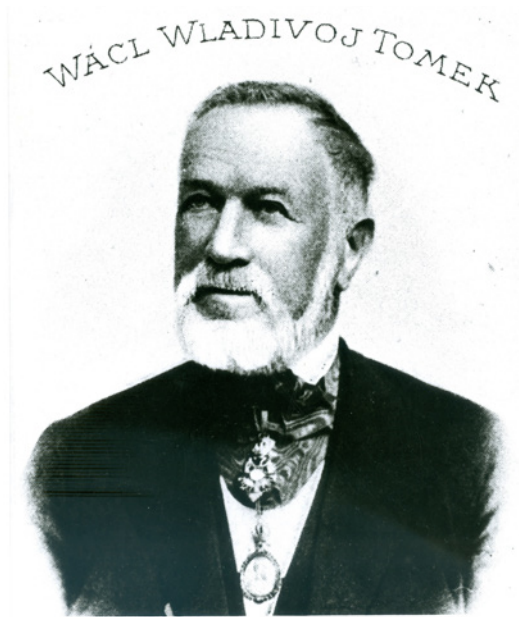
FIGURE 2A/B
*Václav Vladivoj Tomek (1818–1905), a
professor of Austrian history at the
Charles University. Archiv Univerzity
Karlovy, Fotoarchiv, Sbírka pozitivů
osobností 1311/1310.*

text almost identical with one chapter in Christian's text – was written before 1100.[48] Nevertheless, he still maintained Dobrovský's old idea that the *Legenda Christiani* was in fact a late forgery.[49]

Going through the texts of the historians of the 18th and 19th centuries, one notes primarily their successes in heuristics. Although many of them gained their education in universities, most of them did not study history at all; they were indebted for their paleographical and critical skills to their private tutors. Focused on collecting the sources, a great number of them spent substantial time travelling from one archive to another, and from one library to the next one, in order to publish the results of their "excavations" in contemporary learned journals. Not until the end of 18th century was *Böhmische Gelehrte Privatgesellschaft* founded, and after 15 years (in 1790) gained royal patronage and changed its name in *Königlich-Böhmische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*. Thanks to this *Learned Society*, sciences and humanities in Bohemia gained an official platform for the discussion and publication of the results of their research.[50] Two generations later, in 1818, the National Museum in Prague started its long history and its scientific board also started to publish a new scientific journal – *Časopis Českého museum*. After 1848, universities in the Habsburg Empire experienced their rebirth thanks to the reforms of Leo Thun. Not only was the new prestigious *Institut für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* formed in Vienna 1854, which played an important role in the education of Czech historians, but also the departments of history were reformed. In following decades, we can also observe the substantial increase in positions that requested professional education in history. Starting at the end of 18th century, the social profile of historians also started changing from monks and clerics (Balbín, Dobner), or independent researchers (Dobrovský,

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48   Tomek, "Svatá Ludmila a Čechy, " 266–275.

49   See later, p. 28. Thomas Hirsch, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis böhmische Geschichtsquellen. 1: Die Ludmilla und Wenzelslegenden, oder wer ist der Verfasser der von Dobrowsky mit Unrecht einem Pseudochristian zugeschriebenen Legenden," in Josef Pekař, *Eine unbekannt gebliebene Abhandlung über die Echtheit Christians*, Sitzungsberichte der königlichen böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Klasse für Philos., Gesch. u. Philol. 1905, no. 2. (Prague: Verlag der königlichen böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, 1905). This work is a resourceful study, which, however, did not take part in the dispute because of its manusript form.

50   Josef Kalousek, *Geschichte der Königlichen Böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften: sammt einer kritischen Übersicht ihrer Publicationen aus dem Bereiche der Philosophie, Geschichte und Philologie, aus Anlass des hundertjährigen Jubelfestes der Gesellschaft 1884* (Prag: Königlich Böhmische Ges. der Wiss., 1884).

Palacký) to servants of the state – even by the end of 18th century we can meet with historians employed in universities. The first chairs in historical auxiliary sciences were created 1784 and we already mentioned the first public museums, were founded in first decades of nineteenth century. Even though Palacký was also a private researcher that later in his live gained substantial fortune, he was not supported by a noble benefactor, but by the Bohemian aristocracy as a whole via its representatives. In contrast, Beda Dudík (1815–1890), named the official historian of Moravia, was a Benedictine monk.

The evidence of these changes can be found in the contemporary historiography. First, in the earlier texts, description prevailed. In analytical texts written later, we can also find some general arguments that prove their authors expected discussion and tried to avoid the doubts about the results of their research. Second, it is still obvious that the list of contributors to discusions in the humanities did not yet consist of professional historians.

"Our Oldest Chronicle": Josef Pekař and His Opponents

Josef Pekař is now known as one of the key members of the so called "Goll school", which is acknowledged as the intellectual center of Czech historiography from the end of 19th century until 1948. Analysing the concept of "Goll school", however, enables us to understand the creation of the identity of the intellectual community through the transformation of the past more than anything else. Although Jaroslav Goll was, for sure, an influential university professor, his methods were hardly innovative when he started teaching in Prague.[1] It was the influence of his friend and colleague Antonín Rezek, who was appointed to an important position in Vienna that helped Golls' students to get their tenures. Nevertheless, there were many similarities and differences amongst Golls' students as well as between Goll and his students. Therefore we can hardly speak about a homogenous group. Still, it was Goll's students (and mainly students of his students) who gained tenures in history in Prague and later on in newly created universities in Brno or Bratislava, stable archivist positions or at least tenures in high schools in Prague that enabled them to stay in regular contact with the Charles university and gain there the right of "venia docendi". The relationship to the "patriarch" was often the only thing they shared.

It was only in the early twentieth century that the *Legenda Christiani* caught the attention of Josef Pekař (1870–1937).[2] The fact that the topic of early

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1   Conf. critical commentaries of Bohumil Jiroušek, *Jaroslav Goll: role historika v české společnosti* (České Budějovice: Jihočeská univerzita, 2006).

2   The most recent monograph on this historian is Josef Hanzal, *Josef Pekař: Život a dílo* (Prague: Karolinum, 2002). But more essential works on Pekař are Jaroslav Marek, "Pekařovo dílo v proměnách dobového dějepisectví," in *Pekařovské studie: K 50. výročí smrti Josefa Pekaře*, edited by Eva Kantůrková (Prague: Academia, 1995), 163–178, and introduction to a new edition of Josef Pekař, *Žižka a jeho doba* (Prague: Odeon, 1992), v–xxx written by František Šmahel, one of the most important living Czech historians. On Pekař's nationalism, controlled by his rationality, see Jan Havránek, "Pekařův nacionalismus," in *Po cestách naléhavosti myšlení: Sborník prací, jejichž smyslem je především dekonstrukce samozřejmosti; Věnováno Josefu Zumrovi k 65. narozeninám*, edited by Irena Šnebergová (Prague: Filosofický ústav AV ČR, 1993), 159–167, esp. 162–163; on the reasons of convincing force of his style, see Milan Jelínek, "O jazykovém stylu Pekařových historických prací," in *Pekařovské studie:*

FIGURE 3
Josef Pekař (1870–1937), a professor of Austrian history at the Charles University at the beginning of his career. Archiv Univerzity Karlovy, Fotoarchiv, Sbírka pozitivů osobností 967.

hagiography attracted his attention is surprising in itself,[3] given that Pekař wrote his habilitation thesis on the fall of Albrecht of Wallenstein (1583–1634), while his later work on the *zadruga* dealt with issues of economic and social history. In the introduction to his monograph on the *Legenda Christiani*,

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K 50. výročí smrti Josefa Pekaře, edited by Eva Kantůrková (Prague: Academia, 1995), 146–162. On Pekař's reflections of methodology and generally ways of his work, see especially Milan Skřivánek, "Základy historické kritiky u Jaroslava Golla a Josefa Pekaře." *Východočeské listy historické* 21–22 (2004): 83–120; Zdeněk Beneš, "Gollovec Josef Pekař?" in *Jaroslav Goll a jeho žáci*, edited by Bohumil Jiroušek, Josef Blüml, and Dagmar Blümlová (České Budějovice: Jihočeská univerzita, 2005), 331–341. On the recent literature, see Miloš Havelka, "Josef Pekař v posametovém světě české historiografie," *Dějiny – teorie – kritika* 3 (2006): 231–250. In our research these works have only an intermediating role concerning Pekař's work as a whole; it is symptomatic that probably the most academic of Pekař's discussion remains almost unreflected. Only Zdeněk Kalista, *Josef Pekař* (Prague: Školní nakladatelství pro Čechy a Moravu, 1941), 118–134, treated this issue in detail.

3   As to the circumstances, in which this work was written, cf. *Listy úcty a přátelství: Vzájemná korespondence Jaroslava Golla a Josefa Pekaře*, edited by Josef Klik (Prague: Vyšehrad, 1941), 349–353.

| First Old Church Slav. Leg., Vostokov-version, 929–950 |
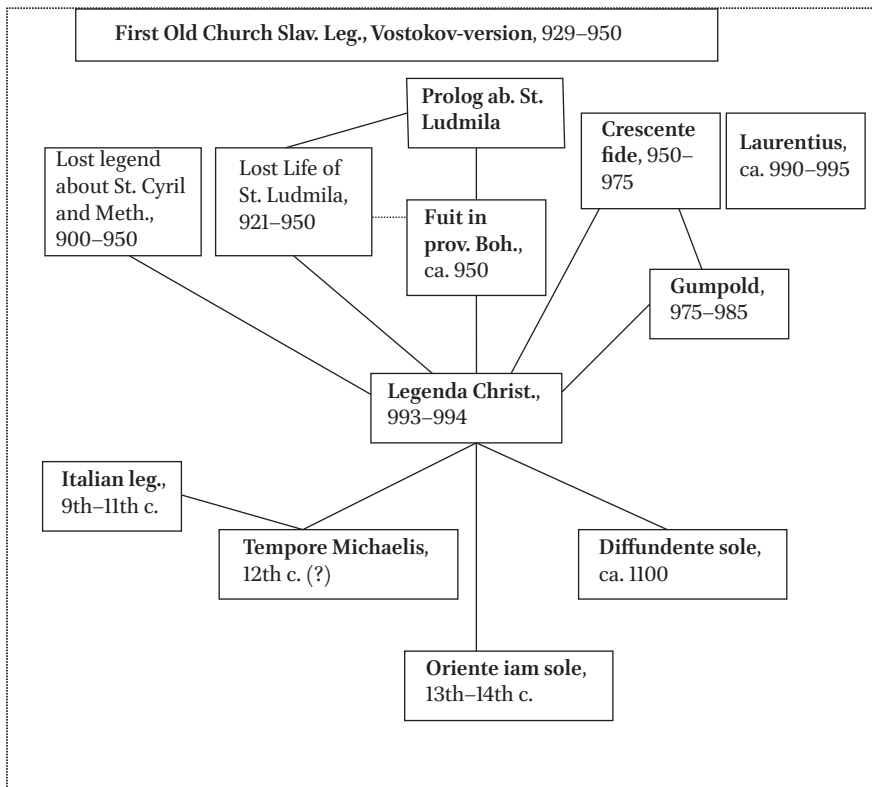
STEMMA 2   *Stemma according to Josef Pekař (*PEKAŘ, J.*: Ku kritice legend, p. 461). For existing texts I used bold format.*

Pekař declared that his goal was to replace the "Romanticist" forgeries of the *Manuscript of Králův Dvůr* and the *Manuscript of Zelená Hora* (both of which are similar in nature to Ossian's poems) with authentic sources, in order to produce a new picture of ancient Bohemian history.[4] His private correspondence, however, indicates that this was not his initial plan. Instead, Pekař may have stumbled upon the topic of the early medieval legends by accident or he may have decided to deal with the topic in order to prepare for teaching university

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4 In the introduction to Pekař, *Ke kritice legend*, 385–481; Pekař, *Nejstarší kronika česká*. This statement does not appear in the later, German edition. Dušan Třeštík, "Deset tezí o Kristiánově legendě," FHB 2 (1980): 7–38, at 7–15, also connected Pekař's work with an effort to revise Palacký's concept based on the *Manuscripts*, but did not considere this effort to be an attempt to find a compensation for the *Manuscripts*.

seminars.[5] Nonetheless, it is quite clear that his approach to the opinions previously expressed by scholarly authorities was based on his doubts and resulted in his rejection of their theories. His theory of history was holistic – he acknowledged that not only deductions based on reading the sources influences opinions about a certain historical period, but also opinions about certain historical periods is a source of influence on the primary analysis of historical sources. Because he came from an environment concerned with the reevaluation of Palacký's concepts, he formulated the results of his study of sources in such a way as to fit them into the "modernist" trend.

Pekař eventually published a few voluminous works on the hagiography of Wenceslas and Ludmila. First a monograph appeared[6] and when the number of polemical responses began to grow,[7] he added more postscripts with counter-arguments.[8]

In his first work, in order to establish a date for the writing of the legend, Pekař focused on the prologue in which the author asks Bishop Adalbert for permission to "publish" the legend.[9] Pekař divided his analysis into two sections, one dedicated to external, and the other to internal criticism.[10] In the part devoted to internal criticism, he called attention particularly to such expressions and phrases which, in his opinion, could have been in use only

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5   Novotný's contemporary works on the earliest medieval Bohemian annalistic works were allegedly written for the same reason.

6   Pekař, *Ke kritice legend*, 385–481.

7   See p. 30–42. On Pekař's side, see Heinrich G. Voigt, *Die von Přemysliden Christian verfasste und Adalbert von Prag gewidmete Biographie des heil. Wenzel und ihre Geschichtsdarstellung* (Prague: Řivnáč, 1907).

8   Josef Pekař, "Nejstarší kronika česká," *ČČH* 9 (1903): 125–163, 300–320, 398–411, 411–415; *ČČH* 10 (1904): 37–44, 304–321, 414–433; *ČČH* 11 (1905): 267–300.

9   Pekař, *Ke kritice legend*, 388–391. It is necessary to admit that at the first stage Pekař did not consider it sufficient to disprove objections against the legend's authenticity and claimed that the most important thing was to gather positive evidence of his view. Later, however, perhaps under J. Goll's influence, he backed the text of the source, which dated its origins back to the time of St. Adalbert.

10   Pekař organized his work according to E. Bernheim's principles, to whom he referred several times in his first study as well as in his polemics with German-writing authors, see Ernst Bernheim, *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode und der Geschichtsphilosophie*. 6th ed. (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1908), 324–524. When writing his works on Kristian, Pekař, indeed, could not have this newer edition at his disposal. Still, irrelevant differences between these editions made it possible to use the newer edition in this book. Pekař did not change his attitude in his further texts as well, cf. Josef Pekař, *Die Wenzels- und Ludmilalegenden und die Echtheit Christians* (Prague: Wiesner, 1906).

in the early Middle Ages, unlike the language of the prologue, the depictions of devastated Moravia, or the rebuke of priests.[11] Since he believed Christian used such expressions and phrases unintentionally, Pekař understood them as *"remains"* in Ernst Bernheim's sense, i.e., as information irrelevant to the writer's tendency or intention,[12] and therefore inimitable.[13] In this respect, most relevant according to Pekař were such bits of information such as the mention of a son of a priest, named Štěpán; offering slaves as gift to priests; baptism being reserved for feasts; the position of the so-called "co-bishop"; and the lack of well established ruler titles.[14] He similarly pointed to the *"partes Lutheringorum et Karolingorum"*,[15] as well as to Wenceslas making gifts of clothes and arms to his retainers.[16] Pekař believed the reference to Ludmila being from the *"Pšov castle, today called Mělník"* to be a proof of authenticity.[17]

Pekař treated as external criticism the demonstrated relationship between the legends of Wenceslas and Ludmila, on one hand, and the legends of Cyril and Methodius, on the other. In this case, he tried to create an interpretive model which would allow for the establishment of the relative chronology of individual texts. Pekař confirmed the considerable similarities between the *Legenda Christiani* and the *Tempore Michaelis imperatoris*, but rejected the idea of mutual influences between those two texts.[18] Instead, he believed the *Legenda Christiani* contained sufficient evidence to prove that Christian had knowledge, if only partially, of the *Life of Constantine*.[19] He also maintained that the mention of the excommmunication by Methodius proved that Christian knew a letter written by Pope Stephen V from 885.[20] Like Dobrovský, Pekař

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11   Pekař, *Ke kritice legend*, 392–393.

12   Bernheim, *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode*, 467–477, 524–536.

13   Pekař, *Ke kritice legend*, 393.

14   Ibid., 393–394. The same view is presented in Pekař, *Die Wenzels- und Ludmilalegenden*, 169.

15   Pekař, *Ke kritice legend*, 392. See the same view in Pekař, *Die Wenzels- und Ludmilalegenden*, 156. Otherwise, however, Pekař did not regard style analysis as convincing in terms of providing absolute chronology. See also n. 169, p. 45.

16   Pekař, *Ke kritice legend*, 396–397. See the same view in Pekař, *Die Wenzels- und Ludmilalegenden*, 169.

17   Pekař, *Ke kritice legend*, 396. Pekař pointed out the earliest proved evidence of the name Mělník was on Queen Emma's coins from the turn of the 10th and 11th century. Pekař, *Die Wenzels- und Ludmilalegenden*, 138–141, 162.

18   Pekař, *Ke kritice legend*, 398–402, 403.

19   Ibid., 402 with reference to equality *"...i ne branite glagolati jazyky..."* = *"...loqui lingwis nolite prohibere..."* Later, he revised this idea.

20   Ibid., 404–406.

believed that the Pasov tradition may have been responsible for the mention of Methodius' seven suffragan bishops.[21]

When Pekař was trying to find the *terminus ante quem* of the *Legenda Christiani*, he laid a considerable emphasis on the legend of Ludmila. He was the first to conclude that the *Subtrahente se* (otherwise known as the *Wattenbach Legend*) and the *Recordatus aviae suae*, two texts previously believed to be independent works, were in fact extracts from the *Legenda Christiani*.[22] To prove his point, Pekař showed that both the fragments and the *Legenda Christiani* were written in the same style, with their respective texts being different only in minute details. He also insisted that the text of liturgical stories about Ludmila suggested that it was part of a larger, complete text. Given that the manuscripts of both fragments were dated to the second half of twelfth or the early thirteenth century, Pekař shifted the date of the *Legenda Christiani* to before 1200.

When comparing the *Legenda Christiani* with the *Fuit* (the so-called *Mencken legend*), Pekař, like his predecessors, regarded *Fuit* as the source used by Christian. In comparison to the *Fuit*, the *Legenda Christiani* showed only inconsiderable text enrichment: Christian mentions that Drahomíra came from the Stodoran tribe, he makes Slavibor the *comes* of the Pšov province and gives the names of Ludmila's murderers.[23] As for the *Diffudente sole*, Pekař thought it was only an extract; since the author did not have knowledge of Cosmas of Prague, the date of the *Legenda Cristiani* must be placed in the early twelfth century.[24]

Like Dobrovský, Pekař regarded the *Crescente fide* and the *Gumpold Legend* as Christian's sources, but also believed the *Crescente* to be older than the *Gumpold Legend*.[25] He contributed original analysis of the relationship between the *Legenda Christiani* and *the Chronicle of Cosmas of Prague*.[26] His proof was based on the passages about Podiven. According to Pekař, only Christian and Cosmas of Prague mention the name of Podiven, though Gumpold, not

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21   Pekař, *Ke kritice legend*, 405, and Pekař, *Die Wenzels- und Ludmilalegenden*, 180–181.

22   Pekař, *Ke kritice legend*, 408–412, and Pekař, *Die Wenzels- und Ludmilalegenden*, 82–84, 172–176, and also Pekař, "Nejstarší kronika česká, 1," 142–143.

23   Pekař, *Ke kritice legend*, 408–412, and Pekař, *Die Wenzels- und Ludmilalegenden*, 210–218.

24   Pekař, *Ke kritice legend*, 418–421, and Pekař, *Die Wenzels- und Ludmilalegenden* s. 82–84.

25   Pekař, *Ke kritice legend*, 425–450, and Pekař, *Die Wenzels- und Ludmilalegenden*, 24–38, where Pekař pointed out that the two legends contain the same informations and also proved that Bishop Gumpold made a number of mistakes as to factual information and thus he must have been less familiar with the Czech lands than the author of *Crescente*.

26   In the subsequent disputes he received perhaps the greatest attention, with the exception of the introductory parts of the first chapter.

knowing his name, speaks about him as a boy.[27] Unlike Christian, he does not say anything about the relocation of his remains.[28] Pekař believed that the most significant evidence that Cosmas of Prague must have known the *Legenda Christiani* was found in the passage about the wall between Podiven's and his master's grave, since Cosmas of Prague also says that Podiven's relics had to be relocated due to the reconstruction of St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague.[29] According to Pekař, this was the reason why his relics were laid by the church wall.[30] He concluded that *Legenda Christiani* was used as a source by Cosmas of Prague as well as by the author of the *Oriente iam sole*, and also by Dalimil.[31] Pekař's conclusion was that the prologue of the legend may be trusted and that the legend was a late tenth-century authenthic source despite the language, realia or positions of the legend captured in the scheme of the various legends of Wenceslas and Ludmila and those of Cyril and Methodius as well.

Though it may seem that Pekař's polemic, which sometimes showed patriotic features, was about to win the favour of the Czech national community, quite the opposite happened. The public generally was not interested in this dispute.[32] Scholars not affiliated with Goll's school, as well as, later, some

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27 Pekař, *Ke kritice legend*, 445–452. Cf. k dalšímu také Pekař, *Die Wenzels- und Ludmilalegenden*, 135–136.

28 Ibid., 445–452.

29 *Legenda Christiani*, chap. 9, 88: *"Post non multum temporis viri illius ex loco illo sublatum est corpus et translatum cum devocione clericorum, virorum mulierumque devotarum et positum in cimiterio ecclesie sancti Viti, ita ut sanctus Wenceslaus in ecclesia quidem et miles ille foris positus sola maceria dividantur."* Cosmae Chronica 3.55, 228: *". . . presul Meinardus casu reperiens in sacrario ossa Podiuen condidit humi in capella, que est sub turre, inter altare sancti Nicolai episcopi et confessoris et tumulum Gebhardi episcopi. Hic fuit cliens et individuus comes in labore et erumna sancti Wenczelai martyris, de cuius actibus in vita ipsius sancti satis declaratur scire volentibus."*

30 Ibid., 445–452.

31 Ibid., 452–456.

32 Pekař himself, even if probably using a literary stereotype, wrote that he did not reckon on an intense interest of other historians (or even the public), see *Listy úcty a přátelství*, 352: *"Konečně nedělám si illusí, že věc vzbudí hluk nebo polemiku. Ani pes po tom nezaštěkne . . . /I do not have any illusions that the thing would make a stir or cause a polemic. No one will care . . ."* Five years later, however, complained concerning exceeding public attention, see ibid., 503, letter of April 16, 1907: *"Co všechno jsem musel zkusiti kvůli tomu objevu, jež mne, bude tomu bezmála 5 roků, naplnil takovou hrdostí! . . . Kalousek a Bretholz při všem tom dnes vypadají ještě jako rytíři vedle pánů Řezníčka, Bachmanna a Holder-Eggera . . . / What I had to get through because of that discovery, which made me feel proud five years ago! . . . Kalousek and Bretholz, besides Řezníček, Bachmann and Holder-Egger, are percieved like gentlemen."*

within that school raised objections against Pekař's theses.[33] František Vacek,
a Catholic-orientated specialist in agrarian history, also picked up the topic of
the *Legenda Christiani*.[34] In his reflections on the parts of the legend dealing
with Cyril and Methodius, Vacek began with Balbín's old idea of identifying
the author of the legend with the son of Boleslav I. Vacek insisted that the son
of a Bohemian prince living at the end of the tenth century was supposed to
have had "good" knowledge of Great Moravia, but that knowledge had never
been demonstrated.[35] Vacek redated the *Diffundente sole* to the late thirteenth
or early fourteenth century. He also assumed that the mention of St Augustine
as *magnificus doctor* was an argument for a late date, given that Augustine was
declared a *"church doctor"* only in 1298.[36] Vacek believed that the idea of Cyril
living at the same time as St. Augustine, which appears in the *Diffundente*, was
the result of a confusion between Cyril-Constantine and Cyril of Alexandria,
a confusion which also points to later times (as it is not attested for the early
Middle Ages).[37] Finally, Vacek held Christian's mention of the conversion of

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33 Novotný expressed some doubts already in Václav Novotný, *Od nejstarších dob do smrti
    knížete Oldřicha*, vol. 1.1 of *České dějiny* (Prague: Laichter, 1912), 227–228, n. 1, 240, n. 1,
    248–251, and 252, n. 2, particularly in connection with Kristian's version of the Přemyslid
    legend.

34 He presented his research in two lectures in *Královská česká společnost nauk* of December 15
    and 22, 1902, published with some additional conclusions in František Vacek, "Legenda
    Kristiánova, prameny její a čas sepsání," *čnm* 77 (1903): 72–85, 395–405, 487–492; 78
    (1904): 65–86, and in a series of shorter articles published in the journal *Hlídka*. Pekař
    did not appreciate his works much, as proved by his letter to Goll of August 5, 1903: *"Větší
    frašky ještě v našem vědeckém řemesle nebylo – v Muzejníku dokazuje Vacek stále, že Kristián
    je z 14. století; v Hlídce již 1/4 roku tvrdí, že je z 12. století. Přední argument v Muzejníku je,
    že Diffundente sole je pramenem Kristiánovi; v Hlídce, v posledním čísle, jež jsem viděl v
    Praze, dokazuje, že Diffundente sole je výtah z Kristiána (jako já). A těch dětských nápadů
    a naivností!/ There has never been a greater farce in our scholarly craft – in Muzejník, Vacek
    repeatedly proves that Christian is of the 14th century, while in Hlídka, he has already 1/4 of
    a year claimed that it is of 12th century. The main argument in Muzejník is that Diffundente
    sole is Christian's source; in Hlídka, in the last issue I have seen in Prague, he proves that
    Diffundete sole is Christian's excerpt (as I do). And those childish ideas and naivities!"*, see
    Listy úcty a přátelství, 367. Also the fact that Pekař hardly ever refers to Vacek's works
    seems to prove this. Nevertheless, Pekař came to see Vacek's lecture, which was followed
    by a lively discussion between both historians, see Josef Kalousek, "Nejstarší kronika
    česká?", *Osvěta* 20 (1903), 111.

35 Vacek, "Legenda Kristiánova, prameny její," 72–73.

36 Ibid., 73–74.

37 Ibid., 73–74.

Bulgaria pre-dating the baptism of Moravia as a reflection of a later Bulgarian tradition, and as yet another indication of the unauthenticity of the legend.[38]

Like Pekař, Vacek relied on the idea of the mutual relationship between the *Tempore Michaelis imperatoris* and the *Legenda Christiani*, but regarded the *"sclauonica lingua"* of the *Tempore Michaelis as* more authentic than Christian's *"publica voce"* dating to the thirteenth or fourteenth century.[39] He also tried to explain why Christian avoided the term *lingua*, which led him to an original, but ultimately unfounded hypothesis that, to Christian, *idioma* meant only the language of the liturgy.[40] He was not convinced of the mutual relation between *Legenda Christiani* and the forgeries of Bishop Pilgrim of Passau, because although Christian wrote of seven Moravian bishops and Pilgrim had seven bishops of Lauriacum (Lorsch), Pilgrim placed only four of them in Moravia.[41]

Surprisingly, Vacek concluded that Christian had no knowledge of Svatopluk, even though the name appears a number of times in the *Legenda Christiani* (to explain that, Vacek believed the author had referred to Svatopluk II).[42] Furthermore, Vacek refused to consider a mutual relationship between the letter written by Pope Stephen V, mentioning the excommunication of Svatopluk by Methodius, and the similar report in the *Legenda Christiani*. At the same time, he pointed out that, according to Christian, Methodius was a contemporary of Augustine.[43] He even suggested that Christian was deliberately trying to make his account look much older than it really was.[44]

To Vacek, the account of Bořivoj's baptism was also evidence of the legend's lack of authenticity, for that account is different from the tenth-century tradition. (Incidentally, since the only source for the tenth-century tradition is the *Legenda Christiani*, it is not clear how that text departed from the tradition to which Vacek referred.) In Vacek's opinion, the account of Bořivoj's baptism reflected the realities of the twelfth century.[45] This correct chronological

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38   Ibid., 74–75. He dated the origins of this tradition to the end of the 11th century.

39   Ibid., 75–76. See *Legenda Christiani*, chap. 1, 12.

40   Ibid., 76–77. He believed in an influence of the South Slavonic environment. However, the term does not appear in the text, or in any of its versions.

41   Ibid., 77.

42   Ibid., 77–78.

43   Ibid., 78–79.

44   Ibid., 79.

45   Ibid., 83–85. According to Vacek, Cosmas' *Epilog* and *Privilegium* contained an account of Bořivoj's baptism, see ibid., 83–85. Vacek regards as conspicuous the shift in Drahomíra's literary image, see ibid., 78, 74–75. (To avoid confusion, volumes of the journal are quoted as well.)

sequence was discovered two centuries later when qualified *"authorities in history"* had their say.[46] To Vacek, the story of Bořivoj's baptism was as an attempt to influence a supposed debate in twelfth-century Bohemia over who had been the first Christian.[47]

Vacek interpreted as anachronisms a number of references in the *Legenda Christiani*, such as *patres electi* (in reference to a college of cardinals) and the mention of the Levý Hradec stronghold not being settled.[48] He was also convinced that Christian knew that St Adalbert had died earlier,[49] for in the *Legenda Christiani*, Adalbert prays for an intercessor in heaven in case he would die earlier. Furthermore, he believed that respect for Podiven's murderer could have appeared no sooner than in the *"extravagant"* twelfth century.[50] Likewise, he rejected the idea that almsgiving could be in the form of a monetary donation in the tenth century.[51] He assumed that the story about Strojmír was composed in the twelfth century and used by both Christian and Dalimil.[52]

Vacek also argued that Christian used either the *Life of St. Adalbert* by Bruno of Querfurt or a letter of Přemysl Otakar I (1197–1230), since both mention kin relations between the Přemyslids and the Slavnikids.[53]

He also did not share Pekař's opinion that the *Wattenbach Legend* was an extract from the *Legenda Christiani*, for he was convinced the two texts had been written in a very different style. Unlike Pekař, who viewed the term *loquor* as an indication of the entire text, Vacek sees the word in connection with Tunna and Gommon who were the characters of the text. Vacek believed that in the *Legenda Christiani*, Drahomíra was depicted as a pagan, while in the *Wattenbach Legend* she was presented as a Christian.[54] According to him, among the sources employed by Christian were three Ludmila legends written before 1200:[55] the Old Church Slavonic *Prologue*, the *Fuit* and a *translatio* preserved in fragments only.[56] In addition, Christian found inspiration in

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46   Ibid., 80–81.

47   Ibid., 77, 487–489.

48   Ibid., 78, 85.

49   Ibid., 77, 401.

50   Ibid., 78, 85–86.

51   Ibid., 78, 85–86.

52   Ibid., 77, 395–401.

53   Ibid., 403–404.

54   Ibid., 490–492.

55   Ibid., 65–72. In his view, the account of Ludmila has ancient characteristics, partly destroyed by Kristian's interpolations, see ibid., 76.

56   Ibid., 78, 68–70. This legend, which is not extant, is an especially interesting part of Vacek's conception, since he supposed that it had contained a story of St. Wenceslas, similar to the 6th to 10th chapters of *Legenda Christiani*, see ibid., 78.

Cosmas of Prague. To prove the point, Vacek cited a passage mentioning Pšov. *Sclavi* as an ethnic name cannot be used as evidence of an earlier date of the *Legenda Christiani*, for the name appears also in the chronicle of the *Canon of Vyšehrad*.[57] According to Vacek, had Christian been a late tenth-century writer, he would have written *"ex provincia Sclavorum, que Psov nuncupatur"*.[58] Vacek's other argument against a late tenth-century date of the *Legenda Christiani* was the fact that, while Christian mentions Bořivoj's daughters, he does not refer to Vratislav's daughters,[59] unlike the *First Church Slavonic Legend*, the tenth-century date of which is beyond doubt. He also wondered why Christian did not speak about the baptism of Ludmila.[60]

Like Pekař and others, Vacek considered the *Crescente fide* and the *Gumpold Legend* to be the sources for Christian's legend of Wenceslas, to which he added also the *Crescente per orbem universum*, the *Sub regno gloriosissimo* (often called the *Oportet nos fratres*) and the *Corpus sacratissimi martyris*.[61] On the whole, Vacek criticized Christian because of his inconsistency[62] and attempt to create an impression that his work was an ancient legend.[63] He dated the parts of the legend concerning Wenceslas and Ludmila to the twelfth century and he claimed that the prologue was written at the end of the thirteenth or at the beginning of the fourteenth century.[64]

Vacek also commented on Pekař's opinions on the pages of the Journal *Hlídka*. He indentified Christian's study as the work of a monk living in the Sázava Abbey who, at the request of the nuns at the St. George Convent in the Prague Castle, wrote the legend of Ludmila and extended it with an account

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57   Ibid., 70–71.

58   Ibid., 70–71.

59   Ibid., 72–73. Vacek probably overlooked Wenceslas' sister Přibyslava, mentioned by name only by Kristian.

60   Ibid., 73–74.

61   Ibid., 77–78. The attention that Vacek paid to Bishops Michal and Tuto and to efforts to clarify their relation to St. Vitus Church consecration must be appreciated, for Vacek pointed out that Tuto's illness could not be the reason for his absence St. Vitus Church – for Tuto died only five years after the consecration, in which period he was noted to have traveled throughout his large diocese. Also the fact that *"fellow bishop"* did not possess the right to consecrate churches disproves, according to Vacek, the proposed explanation of Michal's presence at the consecration during Tuto's life. Vacek mentioned that there is no extant evidence of Michal before 942, see ibid., 78.

62   Ibid., 77, 402–403; 78, 73–74.

63   Ibid., 404–405. Allegedly, Christian made it appear ancient by means of Widukind's and Thietmar's works, see ibid., 77, 489–490; 78, 80.

64   Ibid., 78, 86.

of the Cyrillomethodian mission.[65] Vacek concluded that the account of Cyril appeared similar to the version of the tradition given in the *Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea*.[66] The introductory passages of the legend, which Vacek and the scholars of his time regarded as a little uncertain, Vacek explained by means of the confusion between Cyril-Constantine and Cyril of Alexandria, which was supposedly caused by the rejection of the Glagolitic letters in the Salona synod of 1069.[67] Vacek explained the beginnings of Moravian Christianity described in connection to St Augustine as the result of influence from Bishop Pilgrim's forgeries which include references to the Roman and Gepid roots of Pannonian Christianity; he was convinced the *Legenda Christiani* was a source of the *Diffundente sole*.[68] He also stressed that Christian did not know Rastislav and he explained away Christian's mention of Svatopluk's overlordship over Bohemia as a consequence of the fact that Christian had knowledge of Regino of Prüm.[69] Since Cosmas of Prague referred to the *Epilogus Moraviensis ecclesiae* as one of his sources, but did not mention the *Legenda Christiani* explicitely, Vacek regarded the *Epilogue* Cosmas's ultimate source of information about the baptism of Bořivoj in Moravia.[70] Besides Regino of Prüm, Vacek also believed that a tale of Bulgarian origin was used as a source by the author of the *Epilogue*.[71] According to Vacek, there was a very close relation between the *Epilogue* and the *Legenda Christiani*, the first two chapters of the latter being a mere rewriting of the former.[72] He dates the legend about the baptism of Moravia to the eleventh century,[73] and the story of Strojmír to the tenth.[74]

Vacek rejected the idea that Christian used the *First Church Slavonic Legend*, arguing thus in favour of a later date for that legend.[75] But he agreed with Pekař about the *Crescente fide* being a source for both the *Gumpold Legend* and Christian. To Vacek, however, this simply substantiated his argument that the *Legenda Christiani* was a forgery. He simply dismissed the possibility of a late tenth-century Bohemian giving such an erroneous interpretation of the his-

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65   František Vacek, "Legenda Kristiánova," *Hlídka* 20 (1903): 433–434.

66   Ibid., 435–437.

67   Ibid., 513–517. Differently in Vacek, "Legenda Kristiánova, prameny její," 77, 73–74.

68   Ibid., 513–517.

69   Ibid., 594–599.

70   Ibid., 589–599.

71   Ibid., 669, 673–674.

72   Ibid., 673–674.

73   Ibid., 671–673.

74   Ibid., 673.

75   Ibid., 738, 740–743.

tory of Bohemia.[76] He noted that changes in miracles could not have occured before the mid-eleventh century, when they began to fade away from memory.[77] Although he treated the vocabulary of the *Legenda Christiani* as ancient, he found it antiquated and he rejected it as an argument in favour of the legend's authenticity.[78]

In Vacek's opinion, that Christian appeared to have knowledge of the eleventh-century legend the *Oportet nos fraters*, was an additional argument in favor of the late origin of the *Legenda Christiani.* He went as far as to claim that Christian intentionally took from the *Gumpold Legend* only those passages that were not in the *Oportet.*[79] Vacek believed that a further proof of the later date of the *Legenda Christiani* is the fact that Laurentius of Monte Cassino, a mid-eleventh-century author, did not know the text.[80] To him, the model for the story about Podiven was the legend of St Coloman († 1012).[81] Christian learned about the whereabouts of Podiven's grave from Cosmas' account of the relocation of that grave because of the extension of St Vitus Cathedral.[82] Even the parts about St Ludmila in the Podivin story were taken from Cosmas of Prague.[83]

Shortly after Vacek, Josef Kalousek (1838–1915) tackled the topic in the pages of the magazine *Osvěta.*[84] He began with a few remarks on methodology, and correctly noted the questionable search for data corresponding to the time of the account,[85] and the difficult problem of dating the *Legenda Christiani.*[86] But

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76 Ibid., 811–814. Similarly in connection with Gumpold – ibid., 21, 96–97.

77 Ibid., 21, 9–15.

78 Ibid., 12.

79 Ibid., 169–170, 239–244, zvl. 242–244.

80 Ibid., 401–407.

81 Ibid., 735.

82 Ibid., 736–737.

83 Ibid., 891–892.

84 Josef Kalousek, "Nejstarší kronika česká?" *Osvěta* 33 (1903): 108–127. Kalousek, an opponent of Christian's authenticity, also belonged to defenders of the *Manuscripts*, see Bohumil Jiroušek, "Josef Kalousek v zákulisí sporu o Rukopisy (80. léta 19. století): Několik poznámek k tématu," in *Čas pádu Rukopisů: Studie a materiály*, edited by Dagmar Blümlová and Bohumil Jiroušek (České Budějovice: Jihočeská univerzita, 2004), 141–147. However, for instance, his attitude to Jaroslav Goll, Pekař's teacher, was always proper. As a matter of fact, he did not hesitate to recommend Pekař's habilitation, see Marie Ryantová, "Josef Kalousek a Jaroslav Goll," in *Jaroslav Goll a jeho žáci*, edited by Bohumil Jiroušek, Josef Blüml, and Dagmar Blümlová (České Budějovice: Jihočeská univerzita, 2005), 183–192, esp. 185–186, 189–190.

85 Kalousek, "Nejstarší kronika česká?", 112.

86 Ibid., 113.

Kalousek did not pursue those two lines of criticism, for he was more interested in the relationship between the *Legenda Christiani* and the Chronicle of Cosmas of Prague. In this respect, he rejected Pekař's claim that nobody would have been able to write a different version of events after Cosmas's account of the beginnings of the Přemyslid dynasty. He also believed that an author's intention could influence the style of a literary work.[87]

Kalousek seriously questioned the idea that Cosmas of Prague was inspired by the *Legenda Christiani*, and pointed to three sources supposedly in existence in Cosmas of Prague's work.[88] He regarded as highly questionable any attempts to identify those texts.[89] Kalousek thought that Pekař put too much trust in the idea that Cosmas borrowed from the *Legenda Christiani*, given that Cosmas could have found sufficient information about the story of Podiven in the eighth chapter of the *Gumpold Legend*.[90] In Kalousek's opinion, that the grave of Podiven was relocated when a new wall was built showed that Wenceslas's chamberlain was laid inside the church prior to the extention of the wall.[91]

Kalousek was also suspicious about some of Christian's contradictory statements. For example, on one hand Christian claims that during his lifetime saints were not paid sufficient respect, but on the other hand, he declares that he has decided to write in order to bring unity to the different interpretations of a few various legends, implying that such a respect truly existed.[92] When analysing the introductory passages of the first chapter of the *Legenda Christiani*, Kalousek went back to Vacek's remarks about St Augustine.[93] He also summarized Dobner's moral argument against the idea of Christian being the author. To Kalousek, Gumpold had no reason to avoid invectives against Drahomíra, for she had not been a member of his family, so no analogy could be drawn with Christian, allegedly her grandson.[94] Like Vacek, Kalousek rejected the idea that in the late tenth century, money could have been used for almsgiving.[95] He believed that the miracle which happened near Kouřim castle and Christian's description of the future fate of the Přemyslid dynasty could have made sense

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87   Ibid., 113–115.

88   Ibid., 115–116.

89   Ibid., 116–117.

90   Ibid., 117–119.

91   Ibid., 117–119.

92   Ibid., 120.

93   Ibid., 120–121. See Vacek, "Legenda Kristiánova, prameny její," 78–79.

94   Kalousek, "Nejstarší kronika česká?", 121–122. Kalousek did not quite understand the gist of the reasoning: Pekař refered to a type of behaviour that Gumpold connected with the saint rather than to Gumpold himself.

95   Ibid., 122.

only after that dynasty had already died out.[96] Finally, in his opinion, the motif of *"variemus nos"* was a late story and, as a consequence, the *Legenda Christiani* must be treated as a late forgery.[97]

Pekař's reply was immediate.[98] He accused his opponent of not dealing with his theory in its entirety, but instead cherry-picking particular aspects.[99] He showed himself surprised that, despite identifying the *Wattenbach Legend* and the other "legends" as the extracts from the *Legenda Christiani*, Kalousek endorsed without objection earlier opinions about the latter.[100] Pekař also pointed out that the text of the *Recordatus* contains scratched-out words, a detail strongly suggesting that those were a part of a much larger, complete work. He pushed the argument even further when claiming that on the basis of newly discovered fragments, one could draw three conclusions. First, not all of those fragments start with the same events. Second, there is a one-to-one correspondence between those fragments and the text of the *Legenda Christiani*. Finally, they all refer to a storyline which they do not render in its entirety. Pekař's overall conclusion was that the fragments in question were all extracts from a complete composition, and not the other way round.[101]

Pekař did not recognize Kalousek's arguments in favour of Gumpold's work. In reply, he claimed that Cosmas of Prague refered to stories about Podiven which cannot be found in Gumpold.[102] He also stressed that in both the Chronicle of Cosmas of Prague and the *Legenda Christiani*, Podiven appears as a grown-up man, unlike the unnamed chamberlain in Gumpold.[103] Pekař observed that both Cosmas of Prague and Christian give an account of Wenceslas's funeral at night, for which there is no parallel in any other text except the *First Old Church Slavonic Legend*.[104] He reiterated his earlier argument that, following Cosmas of Prague, no other version was put forward concerning the beginnings of the Přemyslid dynasty.[105]

Pekař also called attention to some terms, which in his day were believed to be typical for the tenth century, and which, together with the signs of a considerable respect for monastic life, were held as a confirmation of the authenticity

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96   Ibid., 122–123.

97   Ibid., 123–124.

98   Pekař, "Nejstarší kronika česká, 1," 125–163.

99   Ibid., 126–128.

100   Ibid., 128–219.

101   Ibid., 129–130.

102   Ibid., 136–138.

103   Ibid., 136–138.

104   Ibid., 136–137.

105   Ibid., 138–139. The relation between Cosmas and Christian seems to be an interesting evidence of Cosmas' work with sources, see ibid., 139–140.

of the legend.[106] According to Pekař, Kalousek made a basic mistake when not taking into consideration his (Pekař's) discovery of a homogeneous style in the *Legenda Christiani*.[107] Pekař further employed two key arguments to support his late dating of the legend. First, he claimed that in the thirteenth century, several authors of legends used the *Legenda Christiani* as a model. Second, there is wide variation among all those authors in terms of Drahomíra's portrait.[108] Finally, in Pekař's opinion, it was a moot point to refer to the discrepancy between the existence of several legends and Christian's claim that no respect existed for the saints. According to Pekař, earlier legends originated outside Bohemia.[109]

Pekař also disagreed with those questioning Christian's knowledge of things (Great) Moravian. True, Christian may have committed a number of errors, given that he wrote so much later than the ninth century. But the genealogical scheme shows that Christian had correctly surmised the approximate period of the mission of Cyril and Methodius to Moravia.[110] It is therefore unlikely that Christian believed the two of them to have lived at the same time as St Augustine. Pekař explained the first few sentences of the first chapter in the *Legenda Christiani* (and the similar information to be found in Pilgrim forgeries) as an indication that in fact two baptisms took place in Moravia.[111] Moreover, he dismissed the argument based on the epithet "magnificus doctor", attached according to Vacek and others to Augustine's name, and insisted that Christian did not in fact give any such epithet to him.[112]

Unlike Kalousek, Pekař placed little, if any, emphasis in his discussion of authenticity on Christian's errors (e.g., the idea that Constantine translated the Bible into Slavonic, or the claim that Bulgaria received Christianity before Moravia). Instead, he pointed to the *Life of Methodius*, the authenticity of which has never been doubted, despite containing much absurd information about Methodius' work as a translator.[113] He did not share Kalousek's doubts

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106   Ibid., 140.

107   Ibid., 142–143.

108   Ibid., 144–145.

109   Ibid., 146–147.

110   According to Christian, Bořivoj was Methodius' contemporary, since in the text of the legend Bořivoj was baptized by Methodius. At the same time, Bořivoj is presented as a grandfather of St. Wenceslas, who was reportedly an uncle of Christian, the legend's author himself.

111   Ibid., 147–150.

112   Ibid., 150–151. And what is more, Vacek's objection concerned *Diffundente*, see Vacek, "Legenda Kristiánova, prameny její a čas sepsání," 78–79.

113   Pekař, "Nejstarší kronika česká, 1," 151–152.

about the possibility of money being used for almsgiving in tenth-century Bohemia. According to Pekař (who in this respect endorsed the opinions of Josef Truhlář and du Cange) the money in question simply represented the value of the goods given as alms.[114] Pekař concluded with a typical sense of self-confidence: the results of his research *"are the definite confirmation of some important claims which have been defended by Czech historians for half a century (Prof. Kalousek having a considerable merit in that respect) against German historians..."*[115]

However, the matter was far from settled.[116] In his reply, Kalousek started by questioning the validity of the philological method in establishing the relations between texts and in style analysis.[117] He disputed Pekař's idea of a homogeneous style in the *Legenda Christiani*.[118] He also rejected Pekař's attempt to attribute certain expressions to a supposedly typical tenth-century vocabulary.[119]

He believed the story of the nocturnal translation of Wenceslas' relics – a story which appears in both the Chronicle of Cosmas of Prague and in the *Legenda Christiani* – to have originated with one, not multiple authors.[120] In response to Pekař's explanation for the first passages in the first chapter, Kalousek argued that to accept the idea of two conversions of Moravia, in addition to that of Bulgaria, implies endorsing Christian's belief that Bulgaria had been converted before AD 400.[121] Kalousek was also not happy with Pekař's rather overstretched interpretation of the almsgiving money as the monetary value of the goods offered as alms, since such an explanation would imply that money was already widely used at that time for all sorts of payments, something that cannot be supported with any historical arguments.[122] In Kalousek's opinion, the notion in the *Legenda Christiani* that capital punishment was

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114   Ibid., 153–155.

115   Ibid., 163.

116   Josef Kalousek, "O legendě Kristiánově: replika," *Osvěta* 33 (1903): 538–551. In his defence against Pekař's accusation that he evaded the truth, Kalousek wrote: *"Pravdou rozumí Pekař ovšem svoje vývody;.../Pekař means by the truth his conclusions"* (at 540).

117   Ibid., 542–543; ibid., 539. He claims that *"...srovnání dvou nedatovaných textů...málo kdy vede k bezpečnému úsudku o tom, který z nich je starší a původnější.../a comparison of two undated texts rarely leads to a clear conclusion as to which is older and more authentic"* According to him, the same holds true of a comparison of a dated and an undated text with the reservation that in this case at least one absolute date is available.

118   Ibid., 548–549.

119   Ibid., 543–545.

120   Ibid., 540–541.

121   Ibid., 546.

122   Ibid., 546–548.

abolished is absurd and certainly an indication not of a tenth-century date, but of rather modern concepts.[123] Though agreeing that Czech historiography would have much to profit from accepting the legend as authentic, Kalousek rejected it (*pro futuro* and even if he had an autograph at hand!) since he was bound to respect the historical truth.[124]

Pekař wrote his reply in the name of the same historical truth.[125] He brought a new argument in support of his idea that the *Recordatus* was in fact an extract from the *Legenda Christiani*. According to him, the mention in the *Recordatus* of unsuccesful attempts to bury Ludmila's relics in the church before its consecration does not contradict Christian's claim that that church was built by Vratislav. Indeed, no mention is made in the *Recordatus* about the church being consecrated under the rule of Ludmila's son.[126] Pekař dismissed Kalousek's skepticism directed at the philological method[127] and insisted that, though the single occurence of a term cannot constitute a solid argument for the dating of the text, the cluster of many such terms is certainly an important category of evidence in that respect.[128] Finally, he summarized his earlier arguments in favour of the legend's authenticity[129] and concluded in a polemical tone.[130]

Meanwhile, and almost by accident, Berthold Bretholz (1862–1936) intervened in the dispute.[131] In 1904, he published an article for *Neues Archiv*, the purpose of which was to review the literature on the *Legenda Christiani*.

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123 Ibid., 550–551. With accepting Kalousek's argument, one would inevitably have to conclude that the *Legenda Christiani* originated from the time of the Enlightenment.

124 Ibid., 548–549.

125 Pekař, "Nejstarší kronika česká, 2," 300–320.

126 Ibid., 300–302.

127 Ibid., 303.

128 Ibid., 311–312.

129 He dealt especially with the relationship between Christian, Cosmas and Podiven (ibid., 304–309), terminological arguments (ibid., 313–318) and the fact that even late sources do not connect Cyril with Late Antiquity (ibid., 314).

130 Subsequently, Pekař wrote rather factual, informative studies – Pekař, "Nejstarší kronika česká, 3–5".

131 Bertold Bretholz, "Neueste Literatur über Pseudochristian," *NA* 29 (1904): 480–489. On his pronounced nationalism and life difficulties, see Zdeňka Stoklásková, "Schizophrenie des Schicksals: Der mährische Historiker Bertold Bretholz," in *Moravští Židé v rakousko-uherské monarchii, 1780–1918: 26. mikulovské sympozium 24.–25. října 2000* (Mikulov and Brno: Státní okresní archiv Břeclav: Rakouský ústav pro východní i jihovýchodní Evropu: Muzejní a vlastivědná společnost, 2003), 319–332, esp. 322–323; Zdeňka Stoklásková, "Konvertitova kariéra: Bertold Bretholz a jeho snaha po uplatnění," in *Německá medievistika v českých zemích do roku 1945* (Prague: Filosofia, 2004), 273–287.

In this review, Bretholz emphasized especially the role of textual criticism[132] and stressed the need for more study of the relationship between the *Legenda Christiani* and the Chronicle of Cosmas of Prague.[133] Bretholz was convinced that Cosmas of Prague did not have access to the *Legenda Christiani.* He argued that while Cosmas indicated a few sources pertaining to the conversion of Moravia and the life of St Wenceslas, the *Legenda Christiani* has both topics in one text. He was therefore unsure about the relation between the two works, especially given the importance attached to the *Legenda Christiani.*[134]

In his reply, Pekař not only disagreed with Bretholz's opinions, but also accused him of nationalistic bias.[135] He leveled at Bretholz the same criticism he had leveled at Kalousek, namely that his own theory was not understood and assessed in its entirety.[136] In particular, he rejected Bretholz's idea of explaining the similarities between Christian and Cosmas of Prague as the result of both of them drawing inspiration from a now lost source. To Pekař, the differences between Christian and Cosmas of Prague to which Bretholz had pointed were quite natural, given that the two authors had different goals.[137] He accused Bretholz of incompetence for overlooking the use of the same motifs by both authors,[138] or when ignoring Cosmas' dislike for repeating what was already known (which could explain the much diminished space reserved to the story of St. Wenceslas in the Chronicle). To Pekař, it was quite clear that Cosmas had reworked the material he had found in *Legenda Christiani,*

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132   Bretholz, "Neueste Literatur über Pseudochristian," 481.

133   Ibid., 483.

134   Ibid., 485–488.

135   Pekař, "Nejstarší kronika česká, 6," 304–317, at 304: *"Z této strany jsem referentovy sympatie neočekával – hlavní výsledky mé práce obráceny jsou na celé čáře proti thesím, jež hájila českoněmecká historická kritika . . . / I have not expected presenter's liking in this regard – main results of my work go completely against the theses having been advocated by Bohemian-German historical criticism . . ."* Nationalist tensions are similarly reflected also in J. Goll's letter to Pekař of September 28, 1902: *"Z německé strany lze apriori očekávat opposici – a to konečně rozhodne, přesvědčíme–li Němce/ on should expect an opposition for German part – and this will decide if we convince the Germans"*, see Listy úcty a přátelství, 350. On the state of society at that time, cf. Jan Křen, *Konfliktní společenství: Češi a Němci, 1780–1918* (Prague: Academia, 1990), 280–329. Pekař's antisemitism, which he strongly manifested in his correspondence and journalistic contributions, did not play any role in the mutual polemic, see Havránek, Pekařův nacionalismus. Also cf. quotations above n. 2, pp. 23–24.

136   Pekař, "Nejstarší kronika česká, 6," 304.

137   Ibid., 309.

138   Ibid., 312, 314–315.

summarizing and compressing it to fit his own goals.[139] Differences between the Chronicle of Cosmas of Prague and the *Legenda Christiani* could further be explained in terms of the former's use of other sources.[140] To Pekař, Christian's reference to the Pšov castle is more authentic than that in the Chronicle, for Cosmas regarded Pšov as the castle of the prince, while Christian described it as a territory, which was still independent.[141] With that, Pekař believed he had refuted Bretholz's objections.

Pekař's polemical tone invited replies not only from Bretholz[142] but also from Oswald Holder-Egger (1851–1911).[143] The latter specifically condemned the nationalistic overtones of the debate, and went as far as to declare that it made no sense to argue with Pekař, since he preferred the *"glory of Czechs"* to serious science.[144] It is interesting to note that, since he did not know Czech, Holder-Egger's accusation is somewhat bizarre, given that he could not have read Pekař's work.

Bretholz's reply was much more moderate and so detailed that it took the form of two voluminous studies, in which he focused on the relationship between the *Legenda Christiani* and the Chronicle of Cosmas of Prague.[145] He pointed to chapter 55 in Book III of the Chronicle as a key text,[146] given that the chapter deals with the relocation of Podiven's remains caused by the

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139   Ibid., 312–313.

140   Ibid., 315.

141   Ibid., 315–316. This polemic study was followed by two shorter, rather summarizing works – Pekař, "Nejstarší kronika česká, 7," 317–321; Pekař, "Nejstarší kronika česká, 8," 414–433.

142   Berthold Bretholz, "Cosmas und Christian," *ZVGMSch* 9 (1905): 70, n. 1; Berthold Bretholz, "Zur Lösung der Christianfrage," *ZVGMSch* 10 (1906): 1–81, at 81: *"Sollen wir unserer böhmisch-mährischen Geschichte in der Zeiten eines Balbin, nein – eines Hajek zurückgeworfen werden?"*

143   Osvald Holder-Egger, "Auf den ruhig sachlichen Aufsatze . .," *NA* 30 (1905): 730; Osvald Holder-Egger, "Josef Pekař hat . .," *NA* 31 (1906): 748; Osvald Holder-Egger, "B. Bretholz hat . .," *NA* 32 (1907): 528–530.

144   Holder-Egger, "Auf den ruhig sachlichen Aufsatze . .," 730: *"Einen Mann, wie den tschechischen Professor wird er mit seiner Beweisführung schwerlich überzeugen, aber das ist ja auch nicht nothwendig. Einen Mann, dem es zum Ruhm des Tschechen wünschenswerther scheint, dass das Werk des Pseudochristian echt sei, nimmt die Wissenschaft nicht ernst."* In his other article, Holder-Egger, "B. Bretholz hat . .," 529, he labelled Pekař as a dilettante, full of national prejudices. In his reasoning against authenticity of the legend, Holder-Egger referred to Cosmas who, allegedly, had not been familiar with St. Ludmila's veneration. Holder-Egger's overall assessment credited Pekař with only one merit – the publication of the legend edition, even if, reportedly, it suffered from major defficiencies.

145   Bretholz, "Cosmas und Christian," 70–121.

146   *Cosmae Chronica* 3.55, 228.

extension of the church's walls.[147] Bretholz believed that the absence in the *Legenda Christiani* of any mention of the legend of Wenceslas and Ludmila was an argument in favor of its later date.[148] He also thought that the legend of Ludmila could not have been in existence at a time in which her sanctity was in doubt, that is, before 1100.[149] Moreover, that Cosmas of Prague mentioned his decision to narrate the story of the beginnings of the Přemyslid dynasty to prevent its loss for posterity, was another argument against the authenticity of the *Legenda Christiani*. To Bretholz, had the *Legenda Christiani* existed during Cosmas's lifetime, he would not have made such statements.[150] Bretholz also used the reference to Pšov as an argument against the authenticity of the *Legenda Christiani*: while Cosmas of Prague mentions only the earlier name, Christian also gives the new name, Mělník.[151] In agreement with Pekař, Bretholz rejected filiation as a main category of evidence for the origin of the *Legenda Christiani*.[152] Bretholz's conclusion was that Christian wrote a relatively short time after Cosmas of Prague, but independently.[153]

Pekař's reply to Bretholz was very similar in tone with his earlier work.[154] He began by wondering about the proclamatory way in which "some authors" reject nationalistic tendencies.[155] Furthermore, he regarded Bretholz's review of earlier opinions of no value, given that Bretholz presented them without any critical assesment.[156] He reiterated his dissatisfaction with the incomplete manner in which Bretholz had dealt with his own work.[157] He declared himself in agreement with Bernheim's request that whenever a source is analyzed, attention should be paid in that analysis to other contemporary writings.[158] He brought up the old idea that the author of the *Legenda Christiani* was the

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147   Bretholz, "Cosmas und Christian," 84.

148   Ibid., 89.

149   Ibid., 90–91.

150   Ibid., 92–95.

151   Ibid., 96, n. 1. However, Pekař (and before him already P. Athanasius!) pointed out the existence of Quenn Emma's coins of the early 11th century with the inscription *"Melnik civitas."* On the terminology, see ibid., 102–104.

152   Ibid., 99.

153   Ibid., 95.

154   Pekař, "Nejstarší kronika česká, 9," 267–300.

155   Ibid., 267–269.

156   Ibid., 269–271.

157   Ibid., 271–274. Similarly, Pekař mentioned (ibid., 275–277) that Bretholz did not refer to his argument concerning Podiven. As a matter of fact, pointing to lack of reference was a favourite aspect of Pekař's criticism.

158   Ibid., 274. Using Bernheim's authority, especially against German scholars, was another of Pekař's favourite tactics.

brother of Boleslav II, who is mentioned in the the legends of St Adalbert and in the Chronicle of Cosmas of Prague.

Pekař did not believe that the relationship between the Chronicle of Cosmas of Prague and the *Legenda Christiani* was of any particular significance for proving the authenticity of the latter. He nonetheless devoted special attention to the problem since it was central to Bretholz's argument.[159] He began by showing that the *Legenda Christiani* could have well been a source for Cosmas, without that necessarily leading to a word-by-word correspondence between the two texts. Pekař employed Canaparius' legend of St Adalbert, a source most obviously used by Cosmas, in order to demonstrate how, although drawing inspiration from Canaparius, Cosmas's account of the life of St. Adalbert was not a copy of that found in Canaparius.[160]

Pekař also made an interesting comment on the cult of Ludmila. He rejected the claims, according to which Cosmas' mention of the doubts raised by the bishop of Prague against Ludmila's holiness could be interpreted as an indication that there was no cult of Ludmila after all. To Pekař, such doubts were instead an indication that her cult was rejected by Germans.[161] In Pekař's opinion, incontrovertible evidence of Ludmila's sanctity may be found in the *Gumpold Legend*, in which Wenceslas' grandmother is described as *"a saintly and respectable lady"*. Pekař also pointed to the role of the ancient legend *Fuit* in regard to Ludmila's cult.[162]

Pekař argued that, although it is quite clear that the Bödec Manuscript dates back to the fifteenth century, one would have to accept a much earlier date for its model, not only because the Bödec Manuscript suggests there was an independent redaction, but also because of the archaic forms of first names appearing in that manuscript.[163]

Pekař appreciated some of Bertholz's observations, especially his discovery of the Rajhrad Manuscript.[164] However, he rejected his arguments *ad auctoritatem*[165] and concluded in a typically fashion: *"Everybody admits that I have managed to defend my point of view against Bretholz's standpoint in all the aspects and that this is my total victory."*[166]

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159   Ibid., 275, 292.

160   Ibid., 284–287.

161   Ibid., 289–292.

162   Ibid., 289–292.

163   Ibid., 294–297.

164   Ibid., 294–297. Unlike Bretholz, Pekař regarded this text as another "excerpt" from the *Legenda Christiani.*

165   Ibid., 298–299.

166   Ibid., 299. But Bretholz did not accept Pekař's conclusions, criticized his edition and also his exaggerated polemic viewpoints, see Bretholz, "Zur Lösung der Christianfrage," 12–24.

It is not at all clear how much Pekař believed in his final victory. At any rate, he seems to have contemplated the idea of writing a monograph in a foreign language, which would enable scholars not reading Czech to familiarize themselves with his theory. The result was *Die Wenzels- und Ludmilalegenden und die Echtheit Christians*. In this work, Pekař emphasized again the importance of distinguishing between internal and external criticism and insisted on his previous opinions about the relationship between the legends of Wenceslas and Ludmila.[167] First he introduced the other legends of Wenceslas and Ludmila and then he compared them. This was an opportunity for Pekař to prove again that the legend *Crescente fide* was composed before the ancient *Gumpold Legend*.[168] He called attention to the homogeneous style of the work, characterized by the most unusual word order.[169] He also made a valuable observation on *Legenda Christiani* interpolations in the oldest manuscript of the *Gumpold Legend*, which was completed as early as the beginning of the eleventh century.[170] When examining the parts of the legend devoted to Wenceslas, Pekař concluded that the *Gumpold Legend* and the Bohemian

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He focused on the question of the link between Cosmas and Canaparius (ibid., 24–39) and proposed again that Christian used Cosmas as a source (ibid., 39–54). He also pointed out the existence of a legendary forgery, ascribed to St. Boniface in the 10th century, *Life of St. Livinus* (ibid., 54–81). He ended his reflections with a rhetorical question (ibid., 81): *"Sollen wir unserer böhmisch-mährischen Geschichte in der Zeiten eines Balbin, nein – eines Hajek zurückgeworfen werden?"* Pekař commented on this in Josef Pekař, "Zprávy o literatuře," *ČČH* 12 (1906): 245–246: *"Zde stačí říci, že článek Bretholzův je ještě větší měrou než oba jeho články dřívější dokladem neznalosti mých prací o sporné otázce, neporozumění prostým zásadám historické methodiky a neostýchavosti ve výkladu a ocenění pramenů i mých vývodů…/It suffices to say here that Bretholz's article is, to a greater extent than his two previous articles, proof of lack of knowledge of my works concerning the questionable issue, of misunderstanding of simple principles of historical methodology and lack of cautiousness in terms of explication and appreciation of sources and my conclusions."*

167   Cf. below pp. 28–29. He insisted that the *Crescente fide* was a source of the *Gumpold legend*, and both of them were used by Christian, or, as the case may be, that Christian took passages from the *Fuit* and was a source of the *Diffundente sole*. Also, he did not relinquish his view that the *Recordatus* and *Subtrahente* are versions of the *Legenda Christiani* and not its sources.

168   Pekař, *Die Wenzels- und Ludmilalegenden*, 24–38.

169   Ibid., 172–176. He did so especially in his polemic with Kalousek, cf. Pekař, "Nejstarší kronika česká, 1," 142–143. Otherwise, however, Pekař did not regard style analysis as convincing in terms of providing absolute chronology. In his letter to Goll of September 9, 1902, Pekař pointed out that *"se stylem se nedá dělat skoro nic (jaký je rozdíl např. mezi Dětmarem Merseburským a Brunonem)./ one gets almost nothing from a style (e.g. what is the difference between Thietmar of Merseburg and Bruno)"*, see *Listy úcty a přátelství*, 352.

170   Ibid., 38–42.

redaction of the *Crescente fide* served as models for the *Legenda Christiani*.[171] He also called attention to the relationship between Christian and the *First Church Slavonic Legend*, especially to the use in both of the Judas motif, a reference to Boleslav being knocked down by Wenceslas, and another to Wenceslas being murdered on his way to church.[172] But Pekař did not believe the *First Church Slavonic Legend* to have been the model for Christian, who obviously ignored many motifs present in the *First Church Slavonic Legend*.[173] Furthermore, Pekař noted that the author of *Diffundente* put more stress on Ludmila's sanctity and depicted her more as an ascetic than as a pious princess, mentioned Adalbert as a saint, and believed Methodius' prophecy to have been fulfilled.[174] All this, according to Pekař, was proof that the *Legenda Christiani* was written before the *Diffundente sole*.

Pekař repeatedly called attention to a number of textual details which, in his opinion, pointed to the early Middle Ages. To strengthen the point,[175] he argued that the terms *pontifex* and *parrochia* used for *"bishop"* and *"diocese,"* respectively were already out of use by the eleventh century.[176] A few remarks concerning the state of the Bohemian church also suggested a relation between the legends of St Adalbert and the situation under Bishop Adalbert.[177] The authors who wrote after Christian apparently misunderstood Christian's account of the beginnings of Christianity and mistakenly put the Slavonic liturgy in connection with Hungary, not with Bulgaria.[178] They also edited out the passages mentioning priests receiving slaves as gifts.[179] Similarly, they took Christian's phrase *"in partes Sclavorum"* to mean Moravia and Bohemia.[180] As for Christian's mention of money in use in Bohemia in the late tenth century, Pekař did not think it could be used as an argument against an early date for the *Legenda Christiani*.[181] Conversely, that Christian mentions Prince Bořivoj's

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171   Ibid., 226–235.

172   Ibid., 237–239.

173   Ibid., 237–240.

174   Ibid., 82–84.

175   Cf. below, p. 119.

176   Ibid., 156, 163–166. On the "parrochia", see also Karl Lechner, "Die salzburger-passauische Diözesanregulierung in der buckligen Welt im Rahmen der Landschaftsgeschichte des 9. Jahrhunderts," *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde* 109 (1969): 41–63, at 48–60.

177   *Listy úcty a přátelství*, 158.

178   Ibid., 161–162.

179   Ibid., 162–163.

180   Ibid., 168–169.

181   Ibid., 162.

three sons and three daughters is an indication of an early date, despite the fact that the Chronicle of Cosmas of Prague only mentions Vratislav I and Spytihněv I.[182] Pekař also proposed a different interpretation of Ludmila's father. According to Christian, he was the prince of Pšovans, or the inhabitants of Mělnik, while according to Cosmas of Prague, he was one of the Bohemian *comites*.[183] His other argument against the idea that Cosmas wrote his Chronicle before the *Legenda Christiani* involves the way in which Drahomira's origin is described in both texts. According to Christian, she came from the Stodor tribe, while Cosmas of Prague believed her to be from among the Lutizi, who, in fact, did not exist at that time.[184] Moreover, according to Pekař, that the authors of such early medieval sources as the *Homiliary of Opatovice* or the Wolffenbütel manuscript of the *Gumpold Legend* may have read Christian strongly supported the idea of an authentic *Legenda Christiani*.[185]

In contrast with his previous works, Pekař now rejected the idea that Christian used the Old Church Slavonic *Lives* of Constantine and Methodius, or the *Annals of Fulda*, for, in his opinion, had Christian known about them, he would not have hesitated to mention those sources.[186] Furthermore, Pekař dismissed the idea that the Bulgarian tradition was the basis of the first chapter in the *Legenda Christiani*, because while Christian mentions Constantine's debate with his opponents, nothing of the sort appears in the Bulgarian tradition.[187] According to Pekař, if the first sentences in the *Legenda Christiani* about the conversion of Moravia to Christianity are confusing, it is because Christian himself was confused about the issue, as he believed in two conversions, one in Roman times, the other in the ninth century.[188]

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182 Ibid., 139–140.

183 Ibid., 138–141.

184 Ibid., 141.

185 Ibid., 149–153.

186 Ibid., 179. It concerns mostly factual information, e.g. Rastislav's name.

187 Ibid., 184–186.

188 Pekař, *Die Wenzels- und Ludmilalegenden*, 183–184. It holds true that the paragraph quoted below does not inevitably indicate that the legend connects Cyril with St Augustine's times, even though later adapters of the legend as well as many modern historians interpreted *Legenda Christiani* in this sense, cf. *Legenda Christiani*, chap. 1, 12: *"Moravia, regio Sclavorum, antiquis temporibus fama memorante creditur et noscitur Christi fidem percepisse, Augustini, magnifici doctoris, ut aiunt, temporibus. Bulgri vel Bulgarii attamen longe ante eadem potiti referuntur gracia. Siquidem Quirillus quidam, nacione Grecus, tam Latinis quam ipsis Grecorum apicibus instructus, postquam Bulgri crediderant, aggressus est in nomine sancte Trinitatis et individue Unitatis eciam supradicte genti, Moravie degenti, fidem domini nostri Iesu Christi predicare."* However, this might be a reference

Nor can one rule out the idea of an early date for the legend on the basis of the second chapter. On the contrary, according to Pekař, the version of the story about the beginnings of the Přemyslid dynasty given by Christian is the authentic one.[189] Pekař argued that it could well have been possible for Bořivoj to have been a subordinate of Svatopluk.[190] According to him, the authors of the Bohemian legends were more interested in using the stories of the past for their own authorial goals than in the facts contained therein.[191] To Pekař, even the reference to Levý Hradec may be regarded as a piece of evidence supporting the early date of the *Legenda Christiani*.[192]

Pekař then returned to the relations between Christian's legend of Ludmila, the *Fuit in provincia Bohemorum*, and the Old Church Slavonic *Prologue*. He found all three texts to be very similar to each other. Given the logical discrepancies in all three texts, Pekař proposed that they all drew from a now lost model.[193] According to him, two details in the *Legenda Christiani* may be regarded as indications of an early date. Christian holds Drahomíra a Christian and lets her appear at the funeral of Wenceslas, in the same way as the author of the *First Old Church Slavonic Legend*.[194] Furthermore, Christian makes Bořivoj a *comes* and makes no mention of the miracles performed by Wenceslas.[195]

Pekař dedicated an entire chapter (*"The analysis of errors"*) to a discussion of the reasons for which previous generations of historians had rejected the legend's authenticity.[196] He devoted more space to the personality of the criticized author than to his work. He also accused his detractors of ignoring the obvious fact that the legend was not used by historians or legend writers of the late medieval era.

With this book, Pekař closed the debate over the authenticity of the *Legenda Christiani*. At a quick glimpse, it is quite obvious that the debate in question

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to the Sirmium tradition, which appears in *Žitije Mefodija*, edited by Radoslav Večerka, MMFH 2 (Brno: Universita J. E. Purkyně, 1967), chap. 8, 134–163, at 150; see David Kalhous, "The Significance of Sirmian and apostolic Tradition in Shaping Moravian Episcopal Organization," *Early Medieval Europe* 17 (2009): 268–285.

189   Pekař, *Die Wenzels- und Ludmilalegenden*, 192–194.

190   Ibid., 198.

191   Ibid., 195–198.

192   Ibid., 198–199.

193   Ibid., 210–218.

194   Ibid., 212–218. According to Pekař, later tradition was different and therefore Christian could not have written at a later time.

195   Ibid., 242–245.

196   Ibid., 262–282.

involved passions as well as key arguments. Pekař wrote under the assumption that he was in a declared conflict with German scholars over the right of Czech historians to express their views.[197] This is very clear from both his correspondence and his work.[198] However, it would be a gross mistake to make Pekař solely responsible for this antagonism. His Czech detractors also used the authority of German historians to support their arguments against Pekař. To many of them, the fact that even German scholars agreed with their theories was a proof that they were right.

At the same time, the debate highlighted the fault lines within the scholarly community, itself a mirror of the tensions in the Czech political community.[199] The "traditionalists" around the journal *Časopis Českého muzea* (*Journal of the National Museum*) were often in conflict with "progressive" scholars (and their disciples) over several issues. Although the historiographic debate[200] was eventually won by the "progressive" group – adherents of Lubor Niederle (1865–1944) and eventually students of Jaroslav Goll (1846–1929) – victory did not bring unity to the winning group, which split into various factions, as the common methodological basis eventually proved to be too narrow for more than a very general agreement. Personal grudges caused by competition for jobs also played a significant role in the subsequent fragmentation of this school of historical thought.[201]

Although the opinions of other historians were taken into consideration, the same cannot be said about the contemporary legends that were not the part of the cyrilomethodian or Wenceslas cycle. (The absolute lack of a comparative approach was symptomatic for this debate until the book of František Graus about Merovingian Legends was written. Graus' monograph was originally attempted as an introduction to the further study of the legends about

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197   This concerned *"deutsch-böhmisch"* Germans as well as those from the German Empire.

198   See below, pp. 41–42, 44–46. Similarly also Goll, see n. 135, p. 41.

199   See n. 135, p. 41. Nevertheless, arguments regarding the need for national unity and its violators did not go out of use. The most significant and also one of the first disputes was the so-called Manuscripts controversy, which was triggered by a systematic criticism of to-be early medieval poems "discovered" at the beginning of 19th century by Hanka from a group of relatively young researchers, mostly new professors of the Charles University connected with the review *Atheneum*.

200   Owing to the criticism of his opponents, J. L. Píč committed suicide.

201   Here the *"school"* means a group of scholars linked to an eminent personality; if scholars have a joint programme the term *"intellectual movement"* is preferred. Indeed, the two categories are not completely distinguishable.

St Wenceslas.)[202] It also demonstrates that the debate of *Legenda Christiani* was a closed system.

At a closer look, it appears that because of this odd situation, many valid claims made in studies published at that time were never applied to real analysis, at least not systematically.[203] This may explain why Pekař's contemporaries, as well as those who entered the debate at a later time, spent so much time trying to prove that particular phrases or expressions could not be linked to any specific period, but were rather general hagiographic motifs. Because many remained uninterested in the literary character of the legend, their efforts were directed towards distinguishing the "historical core" of the text and, by means of comparison with other contemporary sources, towards proving that this "historical core" was factually incorrect.

Equally significant is the quite extensive use of arguments by one's own authority, such as the claims about the unity and character of the style of individual legends, especially the *Legenda Christiani*.[204] Such claims were rarely, if ever, supported by concrete examples. The obsession with determining what the author of a given period must have known also led to unnecessary and fruitless disputes – for most authors did not engage in broader comparative research. (Instead, most of them used a rather vague terminology, and often employed such phrases as *"a lot of "*.)[205] None of Pekař's critics seemed to have been aware of the fact that, were the *Legenda Christiani* authentic, it would be the only Latin text from tenth-century Bohemia. In other words, there would be no other text with which to compare the legend in order to gauge the level

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202   František Graus, *Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger im Reich der Merowinger* (Academia: Praha, 1965).

203   Josef Kalousek pointed out that the arguments are based on likelihood. Already Josef Dobrovský – and others after him – realized the literary nature of legends. Pekař stressed a role of the author's aims. General reflection on the methods used, see above, pp. 122–130.

204   Skřivánek, "Základy historické kritiky," 105–108, terms these elements *"assumptions from beyond sources", "additional knowledge"*. However, this knowlege is formulated on the basis of source analysis, but not systematically considered. (On the explanation of this phenomenon, see above n. 124–126.) Pekař was an exception in this regard, he did not employ comparative materials at random and he also mentioned at least one argument in favour of his statement of the unity of the style – unusual word order used throughout the entire text.

205   Recent literature shows that the attitude of Czech historiography at that time to terminological issues was quite unkind, see Jan Horský, "Dějezpytec a pojmosloví," in *Kulturní a sociální skutečnost v dějezpytném myšlení: Příspěvky k dějinám dějepisectví doby Gollovy školy*, edited by Jan Horský (Prague: Albis International, 1999), 9–47.

of knowledge of its author. Furthermore, no attention was paid to the fact that every literary work is created within a certain discursive frame with a certain goal,[206] which constitutes its "pragmatic" content.[207]

Bernheim's classification of types of information (instead of sources) into *"Denkmäler"* and *"Überreste"* played a significant role in Pekař's line of reasoning, but was also embraced by his opponents, although often implicitly.[208] Bernheim's terminology thus played the important role of commonly shared instrumentarium. As a consequence, both Pekař and his critics spent a considerable amount of time pigeonholing fragments of text into one or the other category, in order to claim their value (or lack therereof) for dating the entire text. If the fragment in question was a *Denkmal*, then it could be attributed to the intention of the author, otherwise it would be treated as an *Überrest*. According to Pekař, *Überreste* were not the result of the author's deliberate choice, and as such they were better indications of the authenticity of the text.[209] In reply, his opponents either did not recognize the *Überreste* as characteristic for contemporary works or re-classified those text fragments as *Denkmäler* (though not always explicitly) and therefore dismissed them as (deliberate) archaisms. Similarly, where the author of a medieval text failed to mention a certain event, some drew the conclusion that that event never happened, while others took that event for granted until proved wrong.

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206   Scholars often point to literary character of medieval hagiographical and historical works but usually do not take into account the question of to what extent the literary aspect is present in works of modern historians. Even today, a historian is distinguished from a literary author by a standpoint of scientific (or literary) community, which accepts or rejects the author, and also by author's own decision to write fiction (often a suitable pattern, i.e. not burdened by concrete details) or attempt to reflect the truth. But the extent of accomplishment of this goal is also assessed by others. This is why R. Ronnen sees the link between fictional (i.e. literary) and potential (i.e. proposed by science) worlds in their autonomy, in their relation to the actual world; a fiction operator, which ensures fictional worlds their autonomy, is defined in cultural terms, percieved as a variable, see Ruth Ronnenová, *Možné světy v teorii literatury*, Teoretická knihovna 14 (Prague: Host, 2006).

207   A number of participants realized this fact, but they usually did not apply this knowldege in concrete cases.

208   See below, pp. 26–27.

209   This approach might have been connected with Pekař's perception of historical reality, which he regarded as a manifestation of (Lamprecht's or, indirectly, even Hegel's) spirit of the age, acting at an unconscious level, see Jan Horský, "Doba, Duch doby," in *Kulturní a sociální skutečnost v dějezpytném myšlení: Příspěvky k dějinám dějepisectví doby Gollovy školy*, edited by Jan Horský (Prague: Albis International, 1999), 119–152, at 123–126.

In dealing with his opponents, Pekař did not rule out the possibility that past authors falsified historical information.[210] He tried to clarify such controversies and bring them into agreement with his hypothesis.[211] The sense of self-confidence so evident in many of his works reinforces the impression that Pekař firmly believed history to be a science in which persuasive and clear conclusions (such as his own) were to be judged on the basis of given premises and generally acknowledged methods.[212] In his view, science is defined by the ability to verify empirical facts.[213]

Pekař had no interest in either theory or terminology, as is obvious not only from the *"verstehende Dimension"* of his work[214] but also from his ambivalent approach to the role of the subject and "time." On one hand Pekař acknowledged the importance of "the atmosphere of his own time", but on the other hand, he did not believe that contemporary assumptions would be detrimental

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210   Milan Skřivánek mentioned this fact, also with reference to other Pekař's works, see Skřivánek, "Základy historické kritiky," 97–98. Skřivánek also pointed out Goll's distance from inevitable veracity of logically justifiable statements – J. Goll wrote in *ČČH* 8 (1902): 72: *"... co se nám jeví logicky sobě odporným, skutečně se v povaze lidské často vyskytuje vedle sebe... /... things that logically seem contradictory often co-exist in human nature."*

211   From the standpoint of modern logic, however, the assumption of refutability of a statement on the basis of the law *"tertium non datur"* (the law of the excluded third) suffers from two defficiencies: It is not always certain that two statements presented as contradictory truly stand in a mutual contrast and it would also be necessary to prove that a consistent and complex system can be formed on the grounds of given statements. But this is not always the case. On the contrary, a range of axiomatic systems are incomplete, yet functional. So a potential possibility of consistency of a given axiomatic system must be proved. Another problem is that in the given case the axiom is regarded as something which is independent and generally valid. Still, discussions throughout the last century in numerous fields of mathematics, logic and philosophy, and perhaps most apparently in geometry, have revealed rather arbitrary nature of axioms. It also holds true that terms used in humanities are quite vague – "fuzzy". In the field of fuzzy sets and fuzzy logic, the law of the excluded third is not valid, since fuzzy logic works with degrees of truth and not with only two possibilities, so a truth value is probabilistic at a given moment.

212   Cf. Pekař, "Nejstarší kronika česká, 1," 163: *"... resultáty jejími jsou některá důležitá tvrzení, jež hájila po půl století česká historiografie (v tom velkou a záslužnou měrou i prof. Kalousek) proti německé, definitivně potvrzeny... / some important assertions advocated for a half a century by Czech historiography (to a large and meritorious extent also by Prof. Kalousek) against German /historiography/ have definitively proved by its results."* Pekař, "Nejstarší kronika česká, 9," 299: *"Přizná mi každý, že jsem pravdy svého stanoviska proti Bretholzovi obhájil vítězně na celé čáře./ Everyone must assume that I have totally defended the truth of my viewpoint against Bretholz."*

213   Skřivánek, "Základy historické kritiky," 112–115.

214   Beneš, "Gollovec Josef Pekař?" 334–339.

to objective, scientific research. He was aware of the limits of any method, and therefore preferred to look for what was impossible in any given period over what was certain in that same period. (This explains why in the last phase of the debate, he gave up trying to prove the authenticity of the *Legenda Christiani* and focused instead on refuting objections raised against that authenticity.)[215] At the same time, Pekař tried to avoid making any claims and passing any judgments without reference to the evidence. This is evident particularly in Pekař's reflections on the style of the legend and the authenticity of Christian's language.[216] In his work, the formal and factual aspects remain in balance. In comparison with his opponents, Pekař's was the most systematic research and sophisticated method.[217] Unlike his opponents, Pekař approached the legend as a text of its own time and thus strove to analyze it in is proper cultural context. Furthermore, he understood proof as a complex whole, something different from a simple sum of its constitutent parts.[218] At the same time, albeit more implicitly than explicitly, he judged the meaning of a single claim only in the complex context of such proof.[219] This may explain why he so often complained that his critics were good at spotting discrepancies in his theory, but rarely, if ever considered the entire theory in its complexity. Like Josef Dobrovský 100 years earlier, all of the historians participating in the debate about authenticity of *Legenda Christiani* did not hesitate to use the rhetoric of

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215   So he followed his teacher Goll. It is interesting that this corresponds also with Davidson's hypothesis of radical interpretation, see Donald Davidson, *Inquiries into Truth and Interpretation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984). This basic assumptions seems to me to be key for understanding different approaches to the historical sources.

216   See below n. 169, p. 45.

217   However, there is no denying the fact that Pekař's major contributions show signs of haste, as is evident from a certain lack of organization of these works.

218   That is why one can find structuralist (or perhaps rather systematic) moments in his thinking, see Skřivánek, "Základy historické kritiky," 96. On structuralism as a method, see at least J. Peregrin, *Význam a struktura*. On structuralism in terms of its history (particularly with regard to the *Prague Lingustic circle*), see Patrick Sériot, *Struktura a celek: Intelektuální počátky strukturalismu ve střední a východní Evropě* (Prague: Academia, 2002). On structuralist elements in Czech historiography in the first half of the 20th century, see Jan Horský, "Struktura," in *Kulturní a sociální skutečnost v dějezpytném myšlení: Příspěvky k dějinám dějepisectví doby Gollovy školy*, edited by Jan Horský (Prague: Albis International, 1999), 186–203.

219   Pekař, "Nejstarší kronika česká, 2," 311–312. If proceeding from a somewhat enigmatic typology by H. White, Pekař might be characterized as an organicist, see Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1973), 15–16.

truthfulness and the rightness of their method that, although not previously defined, served as a rhetorical tool that strengthened their conclusions.

To be sure, the debate over the authenticity of the *Legenda Christiani* never acquired the nationalistic overtones of the dispute caused by the manuscripts of Dvůr Králové and Zelená Hora, two early nineteenth-century forgeries.[220] One of the reasons was, of course, that the wider audience knew little about the legend and its significance for Czech history. Moreover, the *Legenda Christiani* was a text written in Latin, which already made it uninteresting from the nationalist point of view of that time.[221] Finally, unlike the manuscripts of Dvůr Králové and Zelená Hora (two forgeries very similar in character to the Ossianic poems), the legend had no role in Palacký's concept of Czech history. As a historical source for the life of St Wenceslas, it was overshadowed by the *First Church Slavonic Legend*, which, being written in Old Church Slavonic, was perceived as much more authentic. It was also true that by Pekař's time (that is, 25 years later), the idea of separating scholarship from politics had gone a long way. It is important to note that in the 1880s, with much support from scholars in both Bohemia and abroad, Jan Gebauer was able to debunk the myth of the authenticity of the manuscripts of Dvůr Králové and Zelená Hora despite enormous public pressure and much personal stress. By 1907, Nejedlý called him *"our greatest scientist of modern days", "the martyr of science"*, who suffered for *"scientific honesty"* and who fought for the liberty of *"Czech science"*.[222] Religious and ethical metaphors were in Nejedlý's comment connected with national and scientific values. Although the results of scholarly endeavors were regarded by scholars as a matter of national prestige, the larger audiences were not interested in their specific conclusions, which the non-educated could

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220 For instance, already Z. Kalandra pointed out this aspect, see Záviš Kalandra, *České pohanství* (Prague: František Borový, 1947), 21: *"Problém pravosti Kristiánovy legendy se pro odlehlost její hagiografické thematiky nemohl stát věcí národního prestiže, jako jí kdysi falešně byla otázka pravosti Rukopisů; zdá se však, že je s ním spojen prestiž jedné části naší historické vědy./Owing to the abstruse nature of its hagiographic topics, the issue of the authenticity of the Legenda Christiani could not come to be a matter of national prestige, as once became the question of the authenticity of the Manuscripts; however, it seems that it is connected with the prestige of one field of out historiography."*

221 This is not Czech specific; abundant medieval Latin literature did not draw much attention throughout Europe, modest origins of individual national literatures were considered more intriguing.

222 Theodor Syllaba, *Jan Gebauer na Pražské univerzitě*, Knižnice Archivu Univerzity Karlovy 13 (Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 1983), 49–56, 61–63, Nejedlý is quoted at 101–102. To the nationalistic metaphoric in 19th c. Bohemia see Vladimír Macura, *Český sen* (Praha: NLN 1998).

hardly understand anyway. As a consequence, a different strategy of defense of the European quality of Czech national historiography was adopted, even if that could sometimes involve sacrificing "the glory of Bohemia and Moravia."[223] By 1900, in other words, the objectivity of the Czech historians came to be measured by the degree to which they agreed with German scholars, their "natural" opponents. History writing was thus associated not only with the national program, but also with ethical standards.

As mentioned above, the paths of history and politics started to diverge, although they often followed the same logic. In 1882, Charles University divided into two institutions, one for German speaking students and another for Czech speaking. Also, a number of new posts for educated professionals were created by the state, the rich aristocracy and the most important cities. In general, the rules of professionalism started to be formulated by the professional group itself, as the state guaranteed the posts to people with certain education only, and the criteria for passing the examinations came to be defined by the professional elite itself.

Another important milestone was 1896, when the first issue of *Český časopis historický* (Czech historical review) was published, which adopted the classical structure of scientific revue with an influential review section. The majority of its contributors were Goll's students and access to this journal (or the other important revues *Časopis českého museum* or *Časopis Matice moravské*, which later also adopted the structure of a scientific revue) which defined, among other factors, the influence of the contributors and created the hierarchies within the professional community. Therefore, after the 1890's we can speak about a historiographical field in Czech lands.

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223   Paradoxically, Dobrovský and his research itself was later recognized as a part of that "national glory".

Intermezzo: The Victory of Josef Pekař?

Pekař's German monograph silenced his critics and the debate died out.[1] It re-ignited twenty years later on the occasion of the anniversary of St Wenceslas.[2] František Vacek re-opened the debate with a review article,[3] in which he dealt with the date of St Wenceslas' death and the role of his canonization in the establishment of the bishopric of Prague.[4] In Vacek's opinion, the key text in that respect was the legend *Crescente fide*.[5] He mapped out the relations between all the legends of St Wenceslas and again pointed out that the *Gumpold Legend* contains comparatively less information than the *Crescente fide*.[6] The sources for the *Oportet* were the *Gumpold Legend* and the *Crescente fide*,[7] while the *Second Old Church Slavonic Legend* drew from those same texts, in addition to a third, unknown source.[8]

He paid attention also to the *First Church Slavonic Legend* which, in his opinion, did not provide a clear description of St Wenceslas as a saint.[9] He saw

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1   Fortunately, the debate was not brought back even by Pekař's commentaries on reactions to his work Pekař, "Zprávy o literatuře," 244–245; 111–118, 347–353, 452–453. He wrote, for instance, in "Zprávy o literatuře," 244: *"Práce, jak čtenářům tohoto časopisu bude známo, děkuje za vznik svůj stranným a povrchním článkům B. Bretholze o otázce Kristiánovy legendy ... /The work, as the readers of this journal probably know, has been written thanks to partial and superficial articles by B. Bretholz on the question of the Legenda Christiani."* His polemic with museum researchers, who justified their views by means of Holder-Egger's authority, is useful for understanding the whole situation, see Pekař, "Zprávy o literatuře," 351–353. Besides, Pekař also refered to the description of a newly discovered manuscript, see Josef Pekař, review of "De magno legendario Bodecensi," by H. Moretus. Analecta Bollandiana (1908): 257–35, *ČČH* 14 (1908): 472.

2   See especially Petr Placák, *Svatováclavské milenium: Češi, Němci a Slováci v roce 1929* (Prague: Babylon, 2002), esp. 61–75.

3   František Vacek, "Úvahy a posudky o literatuře svatováclavské," *Sborník historického kroužku* 27 (1926): 33–57; 28 (1927): 1–10, 89–96; 29 (1928): 44–48; 30 (1929): 6–30, 82–113.

4   Ibid., 27, 34–39.

5   Ibid., 39–48.

6   Ibid., 51–53. Vacek claimed that insertions, in general, resulted from efforts to stretch the text over a desirable number of folios or were a consequence of certain tendencies, see ibid., 49–51.

7   Ibid., 53–54.

8   Ibid., 54–56.

9   Ibid., 28, 1–3.

a sharp contrast between that legend and the *Crescente fide* in terms of the description of Bohemia and Moravia, despite many other similarities between the two texts.[10] Vacek did not believe the *First Church Slavonic Legend* was composed shortly after Wenceslas' death, although he still placed it in the late tenth century.[11] He believed that the goal of the author of the *First Church Slavonic Legend* was to write something different from the tradition represented by the *Crescente Fide*.[12]

Vacek discovered many relations between the *First Church Slavonic Legend* and the legend of Laurentius of Monte Cassino.[13] He dated the latter to the eleventh century, primarily because in that text Adalbert is made a saint, although a confessor, instead of a martyr.[14]

FIGURE 4
Josef Pekař (1870–1937), a professor of Czechoslovak history at the Charles University in his sixties. Archiv Univerzity Karlovy, Fotoarchiv, Sbírka pozitivů osobností 966.

10   Ibid., 2–7.

11   Ibid., 8–10.

12   Ibid., 29, 46–48.

13   Especially on the basis of this consideration, he later formulated the existence of an older Latin legend, compiled in the 11th century (!) in Sázava, which came to be a source of the *First Old Church Slavonic Legend*, see ibid., 30, 107–113.

14   Ibid., 28, 89–96.

To Vacek, the *Legenda Christiani* was of a later date, and he used again the story of Podiven to prove that Christian was inspired by Cosmas of Prague.[15] He further argued that Christian's archaic expressions and other signs suggesting an earlier date were the results of the forger's efforts to immitate the "ancient" style.[16] Vacek held the *Legenda Christiani* in high respect. It was a text, which, in his opinion, replaced Gumpold's earlier work and the *Crescente fide* as a source of Wenceslas history, thus causing a *"revolution"* in hagiography.[17]

In 1930, Václav Novotný, who had been long planning to write a book on the authenticity of the *Legenda Christiani*, first expressed doubts about that legend in short remark.[18] In his monograph on St Wenceslas intended for a broader audience, he questioned the relation between the *Crescente fide* and the *Gumpold Legend*.[19] He dated the legend of Laurentius of Monte Cassino after AD 1000, and insisted that its errors be explained, among other things, by the distance separating the author from the events narrated.[20] Most unusually, Novotný assumed the *First Old Church Slavonic Legend* to be from the second half of 11th century, and rejected the idea that the number of the miracles recorded therein may have any chronological value, given the conservative character of the genre.[21] Novotný assumed that the *Gumpold Legend*, which he attributed to an author from the Rhineland region most likely educated in the cathedral school in Liège, served as a model for the *Oportet*.[22] In his opinion, the *Legenda Christiani* was written in order to raise money for the repair of the church of the St. George convent in Prague – the nuns hoped to get the money by promoting the cult of Ludmila who had been buried in their convent.[23] As a consequence, Novotný put no trust in the prologue of the legend and was suspicious about a number of elements in the text such as the metropolis of Prague, the existence of a bridge (where there was only a small bridge for pedestrians), and Wenceslas'

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15   Ibid., 30, 6–11, 18–22.

16   Ibid., 11–22. Unlike older researchers, Vacek – in his trying to identify a Wenceslas legend that served as a source for Cosmas – for the first time drew attention to the *Crescente fide*, see ibid., 11.

17   Ibid., 22–30.

18   Novotný, *Od nejstarších dob*, 228, n. 1. Reportedly, the planned study was not found in Novotný's bequest.

19   Václav Novotný, *Český kníže Václav Svatý: Život, památka, úcta* (Prague: Státní nakladatel-ství, 1929), 30–31.

20   Ibid., 32–33.

21   Ibid., 33–36.

22   Ibid., 37.

23   Ibid., 42.

FIGURE 5
Václav Novotný (1869–1932), a professor of Czech history at the Charles University. Archiv Univerzity Karlovy, Fotoarchiv, Sbírka pozitivů osobností 843.

horsehair sanbenito, which was actually discovered only in 1143.[24] He also rejected the idea that the alleged brother of the prince could have written such bad things about his own father and mother.[25] In support of his suspicions, he brought back the old argument about Christian regarding Cyril-Constantine as a contemporary of St Augustine.[26] Nevertheless, Novotný recognized the considerable value of *Legenda Christiani* as a historical source,[27] which he took as a model for the *Diffundente*,[28] the *Oriente iam sole*,[29] and the *Ut annuncietur*.[30]

Josef Pekař attacked Novotný's ideas in a survey of the recent literature, which he wrote for the anniversary of St Wenceslas.[31] He pointed to the respect

24   Ibid., 39.

25   Ibid., 38–39.

26   Ibid., 39.

27   Ibid., 41–42.

28   Ibid., 42–43.

29   Ibid., 43.

30   Ibid., 44.

31   Josef Pekař, "Letošní millenium svatováclavské . . .," *ČČH* 35 (1929): 434–439, at 436.

St Ludmila enjoyed well before the twelfth century and rejected Novotný's conception of St Adalbert's authority, for the forger could have just as well pretended to be St Adalbert.[32] He did not think that the legend of St Ludmila and Wenceslas could have been composed only to celebrate Ludmila.[33] He pointed to the illuminations in the Wolffenbütel manuscript of the *Gumpold Legend*, showing St Wenceslas being killed on his way to (as in the *Legenda Christiani*) or from church (as in the *Gumpold Legend*).[34] In Pekař's opinion, that Christian mentioned Bishop Tuto or the Stodoran tribe is significant, for such bits of information do not appear anywhere else in the Bohemian tradition.[35] Unlike Novotný, Pekař believed that a bridge over the Vltava could have well existed in the late tenth century. Moreover, the reference to St Wenceslas' horsehair sanbenito in the work of a monk of the Sázava Abbey goes back to the *Legenda Christiani*.[36] With that, he concluded that there was no argument against the legend's authenticity.

Novotný's reply enumerated a few additional arguments. First, he dismissed Pekař's insinuation that the polemic was not necessary, since he (Novotný) believed the *Legenda Christiani* to be a valuable source despite its later origin.[37] He conceded to Pekař that St. Ludmila enjoyed respect at an earlier date, but insisted that her cult did not emerge before 1100.[38] In his opinion, the absence of the miracle of Ludmila's veil from the *Legenda Christiani* is an indication of a rather cunning forger,[39] though not without match among other known forgers of the Middle Ages.[40] Moreover, he regarded Pekař's use of the illumination in the Wolffenbütel manuscript as irrelevant, since one cannot tell from the image whether Wenceslas was going to or returning from church.[41]

The horsehair sanbenito, which appears both in *Legenda Christiani* and in the work of a monk of the Sázava Abbey, was no incontrovertible proof of the legend's date, wrote Novotný.[42] Pekař was wrong when claiming that a bridge existed in Prague in the late tenth century; its first mention was only

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32   Ibid., 436.

33   Ibid., 436.

34   Ibid., 436–437.

35   Ibid., 436–437.

36   Ibid., 437.

37   Václav Novotný, "O Kristiána," *čNM*, oddíl duchovědný 104, no. 3–4 (1930): 15–27, at 15–16.

38   Ibid., 18–19. Thus, similarly to many before him, he identified two different phenomena – the cult and the legend.

39   Ibid., 19.

40   Ibid., 20–22.

41   Ibid., 19–20.

42   Ibid., 24–26.

in 1118.[43] Novotný also claimed that Pekař's argumentation was of no value:[44] Bishop Tuto is mentioned not only in the *Legenda Christiani* but also in the Annals of Prague,[45] while the Stodoran-tribe appears also in the Chronicle of Cosmas of Prague. Such references had no relevance for the date of the *Legenda Christiani*.[46] In Novotný's opinion, it was inconceivable that a Bohemian author could place the conversion of Moravia to Christianity in St Augustine's lifetime. The confusion between Cyril-Constantine and Cyril of Alexandria cannot be dated before the thirteenth century.[47] In Novotný's opinion, that the *Legenda Christiani* looks very much like a compilation written in a turgid style pointed to a rather late date for the composition of this work. According to Novotný, the *Legenda Christiani* was the work of a twelfth-century author.[48]

Pekař took Novotný's reply as a challenge. According to him, the scribe of the Wolffenbütel manuscript of the *Gumpold Legend* had knowledge of the *Legenda Christiani* not only because of the illumination in question showing Wenceslas' murder, but also because, in the text, he repeats the information he must have found in Christian, especially: the name of Podiven, the subordination of Bohemia to Regensburg, and Ludmila as a saint.[49] Given the commercial development of Prague in the tenth century, the existence of a bridge over the Vltava was more than probable.[50] Novotný was wrong: Christian simply estimated that there was a chronological relation between the conversions of Moravia and Bulgaria. He certainly did not write that Constantine-Cyril and Cyril of Alexandria were one and the same person, nor did he place the mission of Constantine-Cyril in the Late Roman period.[51] Novotný's arguments were therefore irrelevant, and Christian could continue to be regarded as a tenth-century author.[52]

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43   Ibid., 23–24.

44   Ibid., 17. Paradoxically, he argued so when claiming that the collocation *"metropolis Pragensis"* could not appear in the 10th century, see ibid., 23.

45   Ibid., 18. He is also mentioned in the necrology and calendar of St. George Monastery, see Zdeňka Hledíková, "Svatojiřské kalendáře doby abatyše Kunhuty," *AUC* Phil. et Hist. 2 (1991): 61–81, at 77.

46   Václav Novotný, "O Kristiána," 18. Cf. *Cosmae Chronica* 1.15, 34: *". . . accepit uxorem Dragomir de durissima gente Luticensi et ipsam saxis duriorem ad credendum ex provincia nomine Stodor."*

47   Václav Novotný, "O Kristiána," 22–23.

48   Ibid., 26–27.

49   Josef Pekař, "O Kristiána," *ČČH* 37 (1931): 209–228, at 219–220.

50   Ibid., 225.

51   Ibid., 222–224.

52   Ibid., 227.

The issue of the legend's authenticity was also the subject of a number of works by Jan Slavík (1885–1978), Pekař's disciple and stern critic. In his study published in the volume dedicated to the anniversary of St Wenceslas, he dealt first with the *Second Old Church Slavonic Legend* and its sources.[53] He acknowledged Pekař's merit in discovering that that legend contained all the information one can find in the *Crescente fide*, but not in the *Gumpold Legend*. Moreover, the information in the *Second Old Church Slavonic Legend* was much more detailed than in *Crescente fide*. It was therefore impossible that the legend's author drew on the *Crescente fide* and the *Gumpold Legend*.[54] When analyzing those "more fully developed motifs", Slavík concluded that the *Crescente fide* did not serve as a model for the *Second Old Church Slavonic Legend*.[55]

In another study, Slavík turned to the *Legenda Christiani*.[56] In the introduction, he claimed tongue-in-cheek that Christian failed to reconcile two mutually contradicting traditions, as a result of which we now had two Cyrils, two Drahomíras, two Wenceslases, and two *translationes*.[57] This was already sufficient to raise doubts about the authenticity of the legend as a whole. Slavík started from the assumption that Christian must have had knowledge of a number of facts; that he was confused about them was an indication that he

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53   Jan Slavík, "Mladší slovanská legenda o sv. Václavu a její význam pro kritiku legend latinských," in *Svatováclavský sborník na památku 1000. výročí smrtí knížete Václava Svatého*, vol. 1, *Kníže Václav Svatý a jeho doba*, edited by Karel Guth (Prague: Národní výbor pro oslavu svatováclavského tisíciletí, 1934), 842–862. On Slavík's role in history of Czech historiography, see Antonín Kostlán, *Druhý sjezd československých historiků (5.–11. října 1947) a jeho místo ve vývoji českého dějepisectví v letech 1935–1948*, Práce z dějin Akademie věd České republiky (Prague: Archiv Akademie věd ČR, 1993), 84–85, with his speech on historical terminology at 219–225. From further literature, where, however, analyses of his source criticism are rather brief, see Jaroslav Bouček, *Jan Slavík: Příběh zakázaného historika* (Jinočany: H & H, 2002). Jan Slavík (1890–1978) was a historian of leftist views, a pupil of Josef Pekař. He never settled down in official scholarly instituitions, and mostly earned his livelihood as a journalist. The area of his interest was quite broad – from earliest Czech history to Lenin's October Revolution and Stalin's Russia. In many regards, Slavík was inspired by works of contemporary sociologists, especially Max Weber.

54   Ibid., 845–846.

55   Ibid., 846–849.

56   Jan Slavík, "Dvojitost dějů a osob v legendě Kristiánově," in K dějinám československým v období humanismu: Sborník prací věnovaných Janu Bedřichu Novákovi k šedesátým narozeninám, 1872–1932, edited by Bedřich Jenšovský and Bedřich Mendl (Prague: Československá archivní společnost, 1932), 32–44.

57   Ibid., 34.

wrote in a much later time.[58] According to Slavík, the idea of a tenth-century Bohemian author describing Drahomíra as a pagan is out of the question.[59] He made no comments about the possibility of a bridge being in existence in Prague in the late tenth century, as claimed by Christian.[60] Slavík held Christian's translation to be the result of the confusion between a number of sources,[61] and ruled out the possibility that the legend was composed in the late tenth century.[62]

By contrast, Bohumil Ryba,[63] a philologist specializing in Medieval Latin, was convinced that the legend was authentic. In two small studies, he tried to offer substantiation to Josef Pekař's theory. He dedicated a longer study to the legend's manuscript transmission.[64] On the basis of a thorough analysis of the most common errors, he proposed corrections to Pekař's stemma, with the Děčín Manuscript T re-assigned to the same group as the Bödec Manuscript.[65] To that same group, Ryba also assigned breviary readings FO,[66] FH, FL, and FR.[67] On the other hand, he believed that the complete manuscript K, as well as U1 and U2, which were dependent on it, were in close relation to FP and FB.[68] Besides those finds, Ryba added a few arguments in favor of the idea of the *Legenda Christiani* being written before the *Diffundente sole*,[69] as well as a number of improved readings and amendations.[70]

Ryba returned to the topic in a small study published in *Časopis Matice moravské*, in which he analysed *"rara vix uxoratis"*, an expression applied to

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58   Ibid., 34–35.

59   Ibid., 35–37.

60   Ibid., 39–40.

61   Ibid., 40–44.

62   Ibid., 44.

63   See at least Karel Janáček, "Profesor Bohumil Ryba, 1900–1980, *Strahovská knihovna* 18–19 (1983): 261–283. Bohumil Ryba (1900–1980) belonged to founders of studies in medieval Latin in the Czech lands, he participated in editing of the dictionary of medieval Latin and numerous manuscript catalogues. In 1934 he became professor in Classical Philology at the Charles University in Prague.

64   Bohumil Ryba, "Legenda Kristiánova s hlediska textové kritiky," *LF* 59 (1932): 112–121, 237–245.

65   Ibid., 113–116.

66   Ibid., 116–117.

67   Ibid., 117–119.

68   Ibid., 237.

69   Ibid., 119–121. The following formulations are concerned – Christian: *"…plenus dierum bonitateque…"*, Diffundente: *"…plenus dierum bonorum…"*; Christian: *"…ostium disrumpentes…"*, Diffundente: *"…dirumpentes domum…"*

70   Ibid., 237–239, 240–245.

Wenceslas and suggested it should be emended into *"rara avis uxoratis"*.[71] This led Ryba to the conclusion that in Christian's mind, St Wenceslas had been married.

Thus the 30 years following after the publication of Pekař's Monograph *Wenzels- und Ludmilalegenden* was the period where the disputes were only of very limited intensity. The only serious opponent of Pekař's conclusions we can see in Václav Novotný, who also held the chair in history in Charles University and is counted under the members of Goll school. The case of Novotný and Pekař also demonstrates the substantial differences between Goll's students caused not just by their personality, but also by their different curriculum. It is very well known that the relations between Pekař and Novotný were far from harmonious – although two years younger than Novotný, Pekař soon started a university career thanks to patronage of his teachers, whereas Novotný had to wait for funded professorship until 1911. Moreover, Pekař forced Novotný out of the editorial board of the ČČH and in reaction, Novotný stopped publishing his texts in this journal.[72]

Also in this round of polemics, Pekař did not hesitate to use sarcasm in his texts and carefully used it to convince the reader about his own conclusions.[73] He attempted to enhance the value of his own conclusions by mentioning that

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71   Bohumil Ryba, "Panické manželství Václava svatého." *ČMM* 55 (1931): 269–273. Independently of Ryba, P. Devos drew later similar conclusions, see Paul Devos, "Autour de 'Christian' petite chronique tchèque," *Analecta Bollandiana* 102 (1984): 415–418. The question was recently analyzed in Dušan Třeštík, "Manželství knížete Václava podle II. staroslověnské legendy," in *Husitství, Reformace, Renesance: Sborník k 60. narozeninám Františka Šmahela*, edited by Jaroslav Pánek, Miloslav Polívka, and Noemi Rejchrtová (Prague: Historický ústav AV ČR, 1994), 39–46.

72   For a biographical sketch of this historian, see Jaroslava Hoffmannová, "Václav Novotný (1869–1932) a jeho osobní fond v Archivu Akademie věd České republiky." *SAP* 48 (1998): 325–355; Jaroslava Hoffmannová, "Václav Novotný, 1869–1932: Žák, kolega a učitel," in Jaroslav Goll a jeho žáci, edited by Bohumil Jiroušek, Josef Blüml, and Dagmar Blümlová (České Budějovice: Jihočeská univerzita, 2005), 395–417. Now, there was also published Jaroslava Hoffmanová, *Václav Novotný (1869–1932). Život a dílo univerzitního profesora českých dějin* (Praha: Academia, 2014) that is, however, primarily focused on Novotný's career and personal life.

73   Pekař, Letošní milénium, 435: *"... litovati se také sluší, že latinský pramen sám, tak ctihodný cennou "a stářím, ač ho znali" ku konci 10. století dva legendisté v Itálii a jeden v Němcích, ač ho překládali v 11. století do slovanštiny v Čechách, aby ho ve 12. století užil zase v Čechách český falzátor, zmizel z rukopisů./ ... we can only regret that the Latin source, so important by its antiquity and worth as a historical source, known at the end of 10th century by two legend-writers in Italy and one in Germany, translated in 11th century in old church Slavonic in Bohemia and used there again by bohemian falsifier, completely disappeared."*

Novotný's doubts completely disagreed not just with his own thesis, but also with the results shared by the historical community in general.[74] Finally, Pekař also strengthened his position when he on one side blamed Novotný for publishing his arguments 17 years after raising doubts about his, Pekař's conclusions, on the other side, he declared his own hypothesis as if fact.[75]

Novotný, to the contrary, strengthened his position at the very beginning when he referred to Pekař's conclusions "the attempts".[76] Quite interesting is also Novotný's assertion that the whole discussion about the authenticity of the *Legenda Christiani* was not important at all.[77] By claiming this, Novotný not only excused himself from the necessity of arguing with Pekař, but also denigrated the value of one of the most important contributions of his opponent to the Czech historiography. Similarly to Pekař Novotný did not hesitate to mention that his opponents was ignoring his arguments[78] and his arguments have no value.[79] Sarcasm and self-confidence were also part of Novotný's character. Otherwise, he could not have written that he wrote about St. Wenceslas the same as Pekař did, but, "mostly better or at least more correct."[80] To support his arguments Novotný, similar ro Pekař, often used positive terminology to refer to his his own conclusions – when he recognized something, he recognized it "with certainty"; his argumentation was built with "strict and accurate criticism."[81] By saying this, the obvious image of Novotný as a strict, absolutely objective but shy person seems to substantially differ from what we discovered from an analysis of his text. Even he did not hesitate to use many text strategies and not just "pure arguments" to convince the reader.

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74   Ibid., 435: *"...jímž se rozchází diametrálně se stanoviskem mým a tím zároveň, lze říci, se stanoviskem skoro veškeré novější literatury o sv. Václavovi./...he completely disagrees with my conclusion, and, we can tell, with conclusions of every lately written text about St. Wenceslas."*

75   Ibid., 435: *"Ač od té doby uplynulo 17 let, Novotný nezdůvodnil své pojímání situace nějakou prací, jež by čelila oběma mým knihám z r. 1903–1906, v nichž byla prokázána pravost Kristiána.../ Although 17 years passed, Novotný still haven't supported his ideas by any analysis that would face my books written between 1903–1906, where I have proved the authenticity of Legenda Christiani..."*

76   V. Novotný, "O Kristiána", 15.

77   Ibid., 16.

78   Ibid., 16: *"...(argumenty)...sice odbývá, ale ani slůvkem se je nepokouší vyvrátit!/...he is mentioning the arguments without making the serious attempt to disprove them..."*

79   Ibid., 17: *"...začasté to, co za vyvrácení pokládá, není vyvrácením.../...very often what he takes as an disproval (of my arguments), is no real falsification..."*

80   Ibid., 16: *"...nepřináší nic, co bych nebyl pověděl také já, a to namnoze lépe, nebo alespoň správněji."*

81   Ibid., 25: *"...na půdě přísné a přesné kritiky..."; "...bezpečně zjištěno..."*

CHAPTER 5

Ancient Compilation or Modern Forgery: Václav Chaloupecký and His Opponents

Between 1906 and 1939 the debate was dormant, until Václav Chaloupecký (1882–1951),[1] Pekař's disciple and successor to the chair of Czechoslovak history at the Charles University in Prague, decided to take a fresh look at the relationship between the individual legends. Although, like Pekař and Ryba, he was convinced that the authenticity of the *Legenda Christiani* had been already decisively proven, he decided to re-examine the relations between the legend and all the other sources. First, he devoted his attention to the legend of Ludmila, the *Fuit in provincia Bohemorum*.[2] In his opinion, that legend had an Old Church Slavonic, as well as a Latin, version while a broader version included also a *translatio*.[3] Like previous scholars, Chaloupecký was struck by the close relationship between the *Fuit* and the Old Church Slavonic *Prologue*,

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1 Already in his polemic with Kalandra's short study *Kosmas a Kristián o původu státu.* V. Chaloupecký dealt with some questions concerning Christian – Václav Chaloupecký, *Prameny x. století legendy Kristiánovy o sv. Václavu a svaté Ludmile*, Svatováclavský sborník 2.2 (Prague: Národní výbor svatováclavský, 1939); Václav Chaloupecký, "Přemyslovská pověst a Kristián," *ČČH* 44 (1938): 327–338. On Chaloupecký's active Czechoslovakism, see Josef Blüml and Bohumil Jiroušek, "Historik Václav Chaloupecký a Slovensko," in *Aktuální slovakistika*, edited by Ivo Pospíšil and Miloš Zelenka (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2004), 5–15. V. Chaloupecký graduated from Charles University in history, as Pekař's student. After his studies, he worked in Lobkowicz archives. Upon the creation of the Czechoslovak Republic and new universities in Brno and Bratislava, he was appointed professor of Czechoslovak history at Comenius University in Bratislava in 1923, where he remained 1939. Immediately before the War and again after its end, he was professor of Czechoslovak history in Prague. For his live see Milan Ducháček, *Václav Chaloupecký. Historik nad štěpem československých dějin* (Praha: Karolinum, 2014). I would like to thank its author for providing me with the manuscript of his book although I have not been not able to take it fully into consideration as my text was finished 2012. Conf. also Zdeněk Beneš, "Historiografie mezi poznáváním a porozuměním. Teze k vývojové dynamice české historiografie 30. a 40. let 20. století," in *Přednášky z 45. běhu Letní školy slovanských studií*, edited by Jiří Hasil – Jan Kuklík (Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 2002), 133–143.

2 Chaloupecký, *Prameny x. století*, 13–64.

3 Ibid., 13–16.

FIGURE 6   *Václav Chaloupecký (1882–1951), a professor of Czech history at the*
Komenský University in Bratislava and later at the Charles University.
Private archive of Milan Ducháček (Chaloupecký family).

both devoted to Ludmila.[4] However, he believed he had found similarities
between the *Fuit* and the *Life of Methodius*, for in both the idea is put forward
that baptism (and subsequent conversion to Christianity) would bring pros-
perity to the country.[5] He also claimed that the *Crescente fide* and the *Fuit* had
a similar narrative structure,[6] the legend of Ludmila was of a later origin.[7] On
the basis of the known date of the *Gumpold Legend*, which borrowed from the
Crescente fide, Chaloupecký dated the legend of Ludmila to the second half of

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4   Ibid., 16–22. Chaloupecký, somewhat superfluously, attempted to find and prove similarities
in terms of content, with which however already older literature was familar, as well as plau-
sible text matches.

5   Ibid., 22–23. The similarities he mentions are rather general. Chaloupecký, however, argued
also by means of corresponding structure of motifs of the two legends: pious life, death as a
consequence of Devil's temptation and bad advisors, malicious intent, anticipation of death
and final dialogue; exact date of death; prosecution of the faithful and punishment of bad
advisors.

6   Ibid., 23–27. Chaloupecký believed that it was possible to find literary echos of the Old
Church Slavonic Legend of St Ludmila also in the *Crescente fide, Diffundente sole, Prologue*,
see ibid., 52–54.

7   Ibid., 27–29.

the tenth century.[8] Given that the *First Old Church Slavonic Legend* does not mention Ludmila, he was convinced that a separate Old Church Slavonic legend of Ludmila was in existence at an early date.

However, there was no correlation between the composition of the legend and the foundation of the St. George convent in Prague.[9] Since the *First Old Church Slavonic Legend* of Wenceslas and the preserved part of the legend of Ludmila have the same structure and show the same authorial psychology, they must have been written by the same author.[10] As Chaloupecký thought that certain expressions were typical for the *Fuit*, he claimed that the *translatio* preserved in the later manuscripts was the original part of this legend.[11] He dated that legend to the time of St Wenceslas and attributed its composition to the circumstances surrounding Wenceslas' relocation of the relics of Ludmila.[12]

Chaloupecký then turned to the *Privilegium moraviensis ecclesiae*, a source that had remained unknown to most historians, despite being mentioned by Cosmas of Prague.[13] Chaloupecký declared it the model for the legend *Diffundente sole* and all other similar works (the *Factum est*, the *Tempore Michaelis imperatoris* and the *Legenda Christiani*).[14] In his opinion, the fact that the author of the *Tempore Michaelis imperatoris* did not know, or did not mention the Velehrad tradition and glorified the Old Church Slavonic liturgy, is an indication that he wrote before 1250.[15] On the basis of a comparison of texts, but without any further demonstration, Chaloupecký tried to reconstruct the text of the *Privilegium*.[16] He dated that source to between 1061 and 1067, namely at the time of the oldest legend of St Procopius.[17] From the point of view of *"textual criticism"* (!), he regarded the *Privilegium* as a continuation of the *Life of Methodius, the Life of Clement of Ohrid* and the *Russian Primary Chronicle*.[18]

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8   Ibid., 29–30.

9   Ibid., 30–33.

10   Ibid., 33–40.

11   Ibid., 40–50.

12   Ibid., 50–52. Chaloupecký paid much attention to the clarification of a date of St Ludmila's murder and also to further chronological questions, see ibid., 54–64.

13   Ibid., 65–114.

14   Ibid., 67–78.

15   Ibid., 67–78. It should be pointed out here that it is not clear what information this source contained, the text is unknown.

16   Ibid., 79–92. He considered the papal bull *Industriae tuae* as its main source, see ibid., 94–98.

17   Ibid., 98–99.

18   Ibid., 99–108. Especially in this passage, Chaloupecký very often uses the term *"historical memory"*, but without closer specification, see also ibid., 114–116. His familiarity with A. Warburg's or M. Halbwachs' works is rather unlikely in this regard.

On the basis of six words which appear in the legends *Beatus Cyrillus, Legenda Christiani* and the legend of Procopius, Chaloupecký advanced the idea of a now lost legend of Cyril and Methodius.[19]

One of the most important sources for Chaloupecký was the legend *Diffundente sole*.[20] He even called that text the *Epilogue* of Cosmas on the basis of strong similarities between the *Epilogue* of the Chronicle of Cosmas of Prague and the *Diffundente Sole*.[21] In Chaloupecký's opinion, *Diffudente sole* borrowed from the *Privilegium*, the *Fuit* and other, now lost sources, and it was in turn a source of inspiration for Christian.[22] He was convinced the author of *Factum est* also knew the *Diffundente sole*, for the two legends often appear together in manuscripts. Finally, the *Diffundente sole* was also used by Emperor Charles IV (1346–1378) in his legend of Wenceslas.[23] Of all those texts, the closest relation is that between the *Factum est* and the *Diffundente sole*. Chaloupecký believed them to be two independent legends, with the *Diffundente* closer to older, tenth-century writings, and the *Factum* as an *"enthusiastic"* but late homily.[24] There was also a clear relationship between the *Legenda Christiani* and *Diffundente sole*,[25] although each one of those two texts developed the basic motifs in different ways. For example, Christian, inspired by the *Life of St. Naum*, mentions the excommunication of Methodius and the fall of Great Moravia. He also had a different story for the beginnings of the Přemyslid dynasty.[26] Chaloupecký believed, nonetheless, that the *Diffundente* was the source employed by Christian, and not the other way around, since it was *"unlikely from the psychological point of view"* that the author of the *Diffudente* could have ignored all the information contained in the *Legenda Christiani*. The *Diffundente* contains a number of facts, such as the fulfilment of Methodius' prophecy, which, according to Chaloupecký, suggested that its author had read the *Life of Methodius*. Moreover, Christian has a more "modern" approach to the issue of the conversion of Moravia, which he placed in the time of

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19   Ibid., 92–94.

20   Ibid., 117–236.

21   Ibid., 117–118.

22   Ibid., 118–119.

23   Ibid., 119–121.

24   Ibid., 123–125. Chaloupecký also sought to find a *"psychological parallel"* between the account of the *Life of Methodius* on the baptism of the Wislans and the narration of Bořivoj's baptism in the *Diffundente*. Moreover, he claimed that also the *Life of Cyril* was a source of the *Diffundente*, since both legends contain a disputation with trilinguists, see ibid., 126–129.

25   Ibid., 129–137.

26   Ibid., 127–141.

St Augustine.[27] Chaloupecký believed the *Diffundente* to be of an earlier date because, unlike the *Legenda Christiani*, its composition was closer to the literary structure of the legend *Fuit*.[28] Chaloupecký explains some anachronisms by means of scribal interpolations,[29] for example in the case of the mention of the convent of St. George in the *Diffundente*. He rightly dismissed earlier attempts to use for chronological purposes the motif *"variemus nos"* which appears also in the Chronicle of Dalimil. In his opinion, this was *"an international fairy-tale motif"* with no relevance for dating the legend.[30] In Chaloupecký's opinion, the author of the legend knew very well when Cyril and Methodius had lived, but allowed himself to be influenced by Pilgrim forgeries. The later detail provided a *terminus post quem* for the legend, namely 973.[31] Chaloupecký believed that the *Diffundente* had been written in defense of the Old Church Slavonic liturgy. Its author's goal was to show that when the Přemyslid rulers supported the Old Church Slavonic liturgy, their power increased.[32]

Chaloupecký devoted less attention to the relationship between the *Legenda Christiani* and the other legends of Wenceslas.[33] He declared the *Crescente fide* to be the main source for the *Legenda Christiani*[34] and he regarded the influence of the *Gumpold Legend* as rather limited.[35] He embraced Pekař's idea of an older date for the *Crescente*, primarily on the basis of its simple style, which is similar to that of the *Fuit*. Had the *Gumpold Legend* been a source for the *Crescente*, the author of the latter would have drawn inspiration from two sources, the *Gumpold Legend* and the *Fuit*. He would have made considerable

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27   Ibid., 137–141. Similarities between both legends analyzed ibid., 141–148.

28   Ibid., 148–152.

29   Ibid., 152–158. According to Chaloupecký, already the *Diffundente* reflected a perspective of united Bohemia. For him, St. George was founded as a Slavonic liturgy monastery and so it was this monastery at which the interpolations of Pope John XIII's letter were aimed, see ibid., 230–231.

30   Ibid., 235–236.

31   Ibid., 158–166.

32   Ibid., 227–229.

33   Ibid., 237–280.

34   Ibid., 240–245.

35   Ibid., 246–247. However, Chaloupecký believed that Christian's model was not the extant text but an unknown Czech version of this work, compiled on the basis of an interpolation with a Czech version of the *Crescente fide*, see ibid., 247. He also hoped that he could trace an influence of an unknown version of the *Gumpold Legend* also in the *Second Old Church Slavonic Legend* and in the *Ut annuncietur*, see ibid., 248.
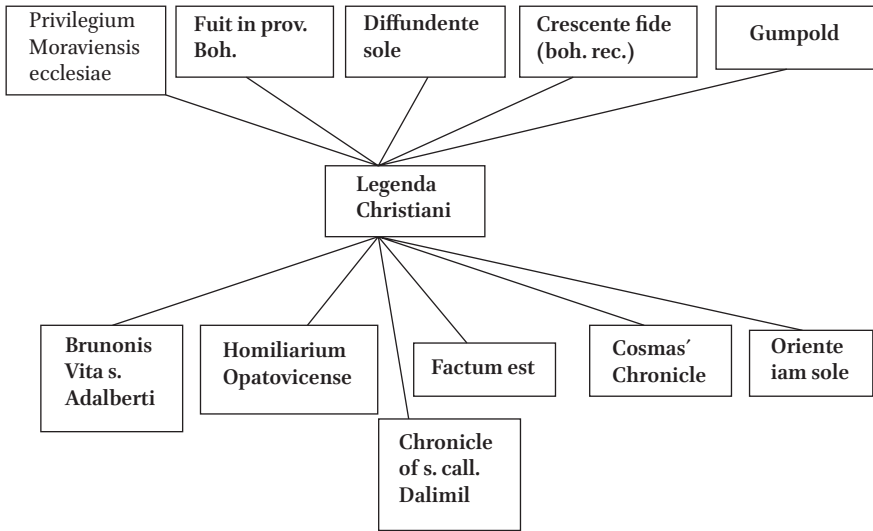
STEMMA 3 *Sources used by Christianus and sources using* Legenda Christiani *according to* CHALOUPECKÝ, V.: Prameny X. století. For existing texts I used bold format.

changes to the text of his legend, had he wanted it to look like the *Fuit*.[36] Chaloupecký rejected the alleged contradictions in the interpretation offered in the *Crescente* and their explanation, by diminishing the significance of the alleged model, the *Gumpold Legend*.[37] He was skeptical about the relationship between the *Second Old Church Slavonic Legend* and the *Legenda Christiani*. In his opinion, had the author of the *Second Old Church Slavonic Legend* known the *Legenda Christiani*, he would have used some motifs from the *Legenda Christiani* as well as some of the miracles reported by Christian.[38] Chaloupecký rejected the possibility of an influence from an opposite direction (the Second Old Church Slavonic Legend onto the *Legenda Christiani*),[39] but admitted that Christian could have been inspired by the now lost Latin model of the *Second Old Church Slavonic Legend* (an influence attested by passages which the *Legenda Christiani* shares with other writings, including the so-called

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36 Ibid., 256–259.

37 Ibid., 259–265.

38 Ibid., 267–268.

39 Ibid., 268–269.

Bohemian version of the *Crescente*[40] or the *First Old Church Slavonic Legend*,[41] which Christian, however, did not apparently know directly).[42]

Chaloupecký declared the *Legenda Christiani* to be a *"compilation of early works on Bohemian and Moravian history"*, initially consisting of four complete parts.[43] To Chaloupecký, this could explain the internal inconsistencies of Christian's work,[44] for which he, Christian, was often criticized, given that, according to Chaloupecký, the legend was a mechanical compilation without sufficient unity of composition.[45] The work was presumably written as a means to spread the cult of St Wenceslas, but seriously biased in favor of the Slavnikid clan and against the early Přemyslids, whom Christian described as a "witch" and a "plowman".[46]

According to Chaloupecký, the sources for the *Legenda Christiani* are the *Privilegium Moraviensis ecclesie*, the *Fuit*, the *Diffundente*, the so-called Bohemian version of the *Crescente fide*, and both versions of the *Gumpold Legend*. He also believed that the *Legenda Christiani* served as a source for Bruno of Querfurt's *Life of Adalbert*,[47] the *Homiliary of Opatovice*, the *Factum est*, the *Chronicle of Cosmas of Prague*,[48] the *Oriente iam sole* and the *Chronicle of Dalimil*.[49] Although he regarded the *Legenda Christiani* as an unsystematic compilation, he nonetheless agreed with Pekař about the unity of the composition style.[50] He also stressed that the legend's manuscript "fragments" existed in the twelfth century, which would exclude the possibility of a later date for

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40   Ibid., 269–277. The passage in question was the motif of prosecution of priests after Wenceslas' death and the account of the coming of priests from the west.

41   Ibid., 269–277, the mention of the consecration of the church in Stará Boleslav St. Cosmas and Damian.

42   Ibid., 278–280. Chaloupecký, however, drew the opposite conclusion that Christian knew this work.

43   Ibid., 303.

44   Ibid., 304.

45   Ibid., 339–340.

46   Ibid., 312–319. On further *"defamation of the Přemyslids"*, see ibid., 319–323.

47   Ibid., 398–389. Chaloupecký pointed out that both legends describe Wenceslas' death in a similar fashion – an unfulfilled promise plays an essential role.

48   Ibid., 384–393. Chaloupecký explained the lack of influence of Christian on Cosmas with *"psychological disposition of the authors"*, see ibid., 387. He also mentioned certain identical motifs, e.g. comparison of Wenceslas and Boleslav to Abel and Cain, and motif of veil, see ibid., 389–390 a 390–392.

49   Ibid., 368.

50   Ibid., 370–375, and already earlier in Chaloupecký, "Přemyslovská pověst," 329–330, with reference to the unity of style and existence of identical passages in the 12th-century manuscripts.

the legend.[51] As for the bad preservation of the manuscript, he explained it by means of the author's *"rigorous realism"* which aroused objections with later readers.[52] Chaloupecký maintained that medieval forgeries were created only as an instrument to defend some concrete stakes, and not as a means to promote ideals, e.g. an earlier origin of nations, cities or church institutions. No concrete stake could be established in this case, because by the late eleventh century, there was no more interest in Bohemia in the Old Church Slavonic liturgy, and the cult of Ludmila had been already defended in the earlier *Fuit*. In conclusion, Chaloupecký declared the *Legenda Christiani* to be a late tenth-century composition.

Far from ending the debate, Chaloupecký initiated a new phase in the discussion of the *Legenda Christiani*. Jan Vilikovský first published a critical review of Chaloupecký's theses.[53] This was followed by two monographs after World War II, the authors of which, however, began working during the occupation of Bohemia by German troops.[54]

A philologist by training, Vilikovský did not in fact disagree with Chaloupecký. Although he accepted the presumed relationship between the *Legenda Christiani* and the *Fuit*,[55] which had already been postulated by Dobrovský, Vilikovský firmly rejected Chaloupecký's attempt to assign the *translatio* parts of the later manuscripts to the text of the *Fuit*, as known in Chaloupecký's days. In his opinion, there were substantial differences in style, and the parts in question were rather similar to the *Legenda Christiani* in terms of content.[56] Vilikovský analyzed the style of Christian and concluded that it was based on a rather frequent use of superlatives. In this respect, the *translatio* legends

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51 Chaloupecký, *Prameny x. století*, 375–384. On the basis of some versions of personal names in the Bödec manuscript, Chaloupecký insisted that an ancient model version from the 11th or 12th century had existed. He argued especially by means of regular appearance of nasal vowels in Svatopluk's name.

52 Ibid., 382.

53 Jan Vilikovský, review of *Prameny x. století legendy Kristiánovy*, by Václav Chaloupecký, *Naše věda* 20 (1941): 81–94. Jan Vilíkovský (1904–1946) tought at the Comenius University in Bratislava, and later at the Masaryk University in Brno. He was an editor and leading defender of necessity of medieval Latin studies.

54 Rudolf Urbánek, *Legenda t. zv. Kristiána ve vývoji předhusitských legend ludmilských i václavských a její autor*, 2 vols. (Prague: Česká akademie věd a umění, 1947–1948); Kalandra, *České pohanství*.

55 Vilikovský, review of *Prameny x. století*, 82–83.

56 Ibid., 84–85.

were very similar to the *Legenda Christiani*, but not to the *Fuit*.[57] This was also true for the use of adjectives as epithets or circumlocutions.[58] He pointed out that, were Chaloupecký's hypothesis to be accepted, then the *translatio* would have received a lot more attention than the *Life of Ludmila*, a quite paradoxical situation.[59] He also rejected the alleged similarities between the *Fuit* and the *Crescente*, on one hand, and the *Fuit* and the *Life of Methodius*, on the other.[60]

Although he agreed that the legend and the *Factum est* were two different works,[61] he rejected Chaloupecký's attempt to date the *Diffundente* to the tenth century and to prove that it was a source for the *Legenda Christiani*. He pointed out that since there were considerable textual similarities between the *Legenda Christiani*, the *Factum* and the *Diffundente*, it is more likely that two independent legend writers borrowed from the *Legenda Christiani* than that Christian took from two separate compositions without making any changes.[62] Vilikovský was the first to point to the systematic efforts of the author of the *Diffundente* towards some form of *cursus* (*cursus velox*), by changing Christian's characteristic word order.[63] The *Diffundente* must therefore be dated later.[64] By the same token, the textual similarities between the legend *Beatus Cyrillus* and its source the *Tempore Michaelis imperatoris*, a thirteenth-century legend, are more important than the fact that no mention is made in the *Beatus Cyrillus* of the Old Church Slavonic liturgy.[65] The *Beatus Cyrillus* cannot therefore be an ancient work.

Vilikovský also concluded that no effort to understand the maturity of the style could serve as a chronological indicator.[66] A philologist trained in Medieval Latin, he also regarded (like Pekař before him) the occurrence of certain facts in one composition and their absence from another as an indication of the author's intent, and not as a proof of knowledge or ignorance.[67]

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57 Ibid., 84–85.

58 Ibid., 84–85.

59 Ibid., 85. Unfortunately, Vilíkovský did not back his assertion with comparative material references.

60 Ibid., 82–83.

61 Ibid., 86–92.

62 Ibid., 86–92.

63 Ibid., 86–87.

64 Ibid., 91–92.

65 Ibid., 92.

66 Ibid., 90–91. Vilikovský demonstrated this fact by means of Cosmas and Břetislav's decrees in MS Ol 230, Research Library in Olomouc. About this manuscript Bohumil Ryba, "Obrat v posuzování priority prokopských legend a Břetislavových dekretů," Strahovská knihovna. Sborník Památníku národního písemnictví 3, 1968 (1970): 15–60.

67 Ibid., 88–89.

By far the most extensive contribution, not only to the polemic with Chaloupecký, but to the entire debate surrounding the *Legenda Christiani* was the four-volume monograph of Rudolf Urbánek.[68] A historian of the Hussite age, he devoted the volume to the study of manuscripts, and concluded that they played a key role in determining the chronology of the work.[69] He established manuscript G5, which contains the complex legend, to be not only the oldest, but also the most important.[70] He described that manuscript as placed at the *"crossroads of time"*, for it had been written in order to preserve the oldest historical tradition.[71] He observed that, while the manuscript contains the text of the *Legenda Christiani*, no indication exists that the other texts in the manuscript that were influenced by the *Legenda Christiani*. On the contrary, in a marginal note, Urbánek associated the Wenceslas miracle taking place in 1092 with the *Chronicle of Cosmas of Prague*, in an attempt to identify its model in the text of the *Gumpold Legend*.[72]

In Urbánek's opinion, the word "amen" repeated in the text marked the end of a narrative part, each part being taken from a different source written at a different moment in time.[73] He was convinced that the core of the legend was represented by chapters 1–5, with chapters 6–8 and the prologue being added at a later time, as illustrated in manuscript T and the now lost manuscript X1. Finally, at an even later stage, represented by manuscript K and the lost manuscript X2, a *translatio* with introduction was also added. Manuscript U represented the following stage, in which the legend was enriched with the story about Podiven and the miracles of St. Wenceslas. The fifth stage was represented by manuscript U2.[74] At the same time, Urbánek found a number of corrections in manuscripts U and T on the basis of G5, and concluded that they were all the work of a single team of scribes.[75] In his opinion, it was possible that the link between the *Legenda Christiani* and some Augustinian priories caused problems, and that Emperor Charles IV disliked the cult of Podiven,

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68   Urbánek, *Legenda t. zv. Kristiána*. Urbánek's conclusions are deliberately presented here in the order imposed by the author himself; for the sake of clarity, this order is changed only in the cases of barely comprehensible chains of reasoning. Historiography has paid only limited attention to this scholar so far. Rudolf Urbánek (1877–1962) was one of last Goll's students. He focused especially on 15th century Czech history and is the author of monumetal work on history of the Czech lands in 1434–1468.

69   Ibid., 43–47. Urbánek devoted forty introductory pages to the history of the controversy.

70   Ibid., 47–53.

71   Ibid., 47–53.

72   Ibid., 47–53.

73   Ibid., 53–60.

74   Ibid., 53–60.

75   Ibid., 60–81.

FIGURE 7
*Rudolf Urbánek (1877–1962),
a professor of Czech history at
the Masaryk University in Brno.
Archiv Masarykovy university,
sbírka fotografií.*

and even some features of Wenceslas' personality as depicted in the *Legenda Christiani*. This may explain why, in drafting his own account of Wenceslas's life, the emperor did not use the *Legenda Christiani*.[76]

Urbánek dealt with the legends of Ludmila in great detail.[77] He concluded that Christian borrowed from the Bödec Manuscript, while no relationship existed between the *Legenda Christiani* and the compositions the *Recordatus* and the *Subtrahente*. In Urbánek's opinion, Christian simply forgot to mention the name of Methodius, which is otherwise attested in the Bödec Manuscript. On the other hand, in attempt to mask his forgery, Christian added: *"Moravia has suffered until now"*.[78] That the Bödec Manuscript uses feminine nouns, while Christian uses the term *"pagus"* constitutes for Urbánek a proof of the

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76   Ibid., 60–81. Urbánek (ibid., 81–91) dealt with links between various versions of the *Oriente*; he argued in favour of one of the versions especially by means of emphasizing its "advanced level" (his favourite argument).

77   Ibid., 95–216.

78   Ibid., 95–105.

earlier origin of the Bödec Manuscript.[79] Moreover, *"regio quedam Sclaurorum, que Moravia nuncupatur"* is more authentic than Christian's *"Morava regio Sclavorum"*[80] and *"comperit"* is better and more ancient than *"invenit"*.[81] Urbánek also proposed better readings of the Bödec Manuscript.[82] Finally, he concluded that Christian used the complete text of the Bödec legend and that the author of its text borrowed also from sources other than the *Gumpold Legend*.[83]

Urbánek dated the *Diffundente sole* to the late eleventh century, without offering any reasons for such a claim.[84] In his opinion, the *Fuit* was earlier than the *Diffundente* but later than the *Crescente* because it contained no information about Methodius and only a little information about Bořivoj.[85] Urbánek was convinced that Christian had borrowed from the *Diffundente* but had extended the model in an unfelicitous way so that, in the end, the content of his legend was not enriched.[86]

Urbánek studied the *Fuit*, the *Crescente Fide* and the *Gumpold Legend* as sources for the *Legenda Christiani*.[87] In his opinion, *Factum est* was written after 1232, probably in the interregnum period and under the influence of the *Oriente iam sole* and the *Fuit*.[88] Unlike the Bödec legend, the author of which took the account of Pšov from the *Chronicle of Cosmas of Prague* (so Urbánek), no indication exists that the author of the *Diffundente sole* knew the *Chronicle of the Bohemians*.[89] Urbánek believed that the description of the position of Ludmila's father was an indication that the *Diffundente* was

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79 Ibid., 97–98.

80 Ibid., 98.

81 Ibid., 98–99.

82 Ibid., 99–103, 104–105. In doing so, he limited himself to presentation of comprehensive corresponding passages without any commentary, since he probably believed that these examples were self-evident; the same holds true also of his further textual criticism.

83 Ibid., 103.

84 Ibid., 106.

85 Ibid., 106. He pointed out (ibid., 134–135) that the author of the *Fuit* was not familar with Cosmas and the text reflects an earlier stage of tradition than the *Bödec Legend* and *Diffundente*.

86 Ibid., 113.

87 Ibid., 112–113.

88 Ibid., 115–118. The main argument for this assertion he saw in the fact that the text contained criticism of the Germans and also nuns of St George monastery, who allegedly had neglected St Ludmila's veneration.

89 Ibid., 134. However, shortly before Urbánek dated the *Diffundente* to the 11th century, see ibid., 106.
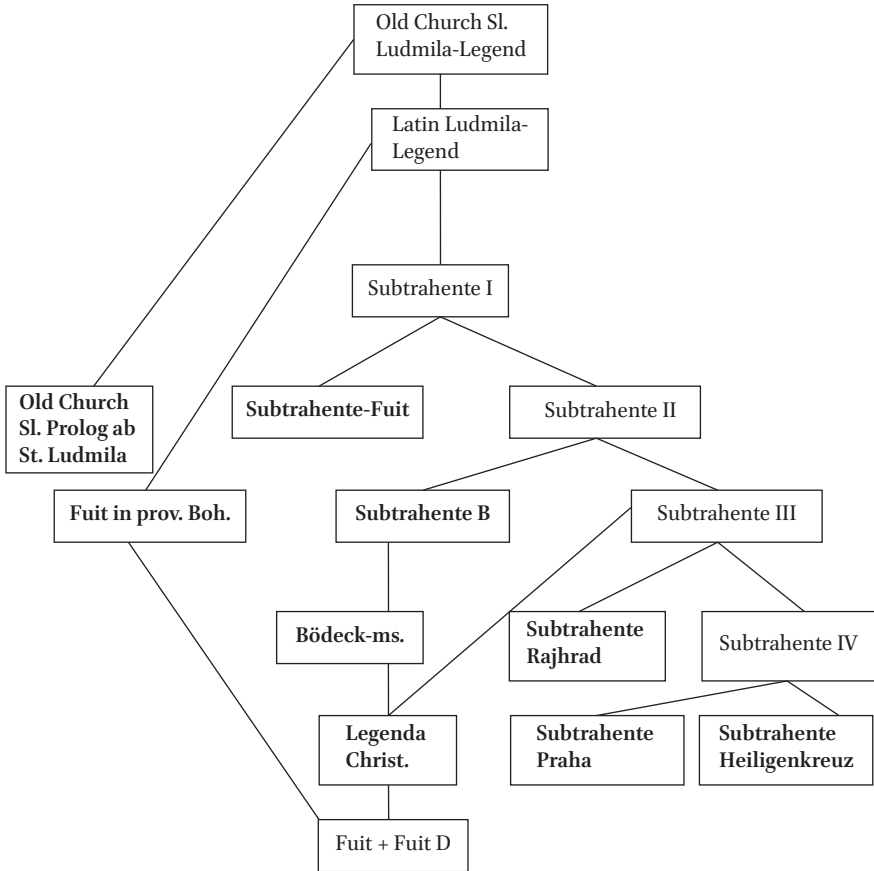
STEMMA 4   *Stemma of one branch of Ludmila-legends according to* URBÁNEK, R.: Legenda, *I. 1,
p. 167. For existing texts I used bold format.*

written in the twelfth century: according to an unknown author, Ludmila and
her father came from the same tribe.[90] On the basis of detailed textual com-
parisons, Urbánek concluded that the Bödec legend and the *Diffundente* bor-
rowed independently from the same work.[91]

Urbánek devoted considerable attention to an analysis of the story of
Strojmír in the *Legenda Christiani*.[92] He believed that Christian's explanation

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90   Ibid., 125–126.

91   Ibid., 126–132.

92   Ibid., 123–125.

of Strojmír's name – *rege pacem* – points to a date after the late tenth century, when the word *"mir"* had the meaning of "peace," not "world."[93] In his opinion, the author of the Bödec legend developed a story which the older *Diffundente* rendered very succinctly.[94] Urbánek was convinced that the folk legend of Strojmír originated in the story of Bedřich, one of the opponents of Bořivoj II (1100–1107, 1117–1120), but was enriched with fairy-tale motifs and placed in the time of Bořivoj I († 889).[95] According to Urbánek, it was Dalimil who linked that story to the twelfth century.[96]

Urbánek declared also the *Beatus Cyrilus* a later legend since he believed that unlike *Tempore Michaelis*, which is also a later legend, it showed a richer style and obvious errors.[97] He attributed both to the atmosphere of Charles IV's reign.[98] Nevertheless, he dated the *Epilogus* and the *Privilegium* to the time of Cosmas of Prague, because, according to him, those sources were known enough so Cosmas could refer to them without any further explanation.[99] He also accepted the possibility that these writings were meant to defend the Old Church Slavonic liturgy, as well as Cyril and Methodius, for they contain the account of Cyril's mission and its failure, the mention of seven bishops and hints at the *Conversio* which Cosmas of Prague indirectly attacked.[100] In his opinion, the source of all those accounts was the *Life of St. Naum* – although he believes Naum never visited the Sázava Monastery.[101] At the origin of those accounts was therefore the Slavonic Sázava Monastery and its abbot Božetěch.[102]

Urbánek was convinced that the legend *Subtrahente se*, with its extended narration about the punishment of the murderers and its own Ludmila legend, served as the model for the *Fuit*.[103] He also agreed with Vilíkovský's proof that

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93 Ibid., 123.

94 Ibid., 123.

95 Urbánek meant especially *"variemus nos"*; he also pointed out its use by Widukind.

96 Ibid., 124–125.

97 Ibid., 136–138. According to Urbánek, its source was perhaps Christian and especially the legends *Quemadmodum, Italian legend* and *Diffundente sole*.

98 Ibid., 137.

99 Ibid., 147. Urbánek claimed that Cosmas had not quoted them because of his antagonism against those works, see ibid., 148–149.

100 Ibid., 147–148.

101 Ibid., 152–154. Urbánek also considered an indirect influence of the *Žitije Mefodija* and *Žitije Konstantina*, see ibid., 155.

102 Ibid., 150–151. He also pondered (at 156–163) over Božetěch's authorship of the *Diffundente sole* and a lost St Prokop's legend.

103 Ibid., 165.
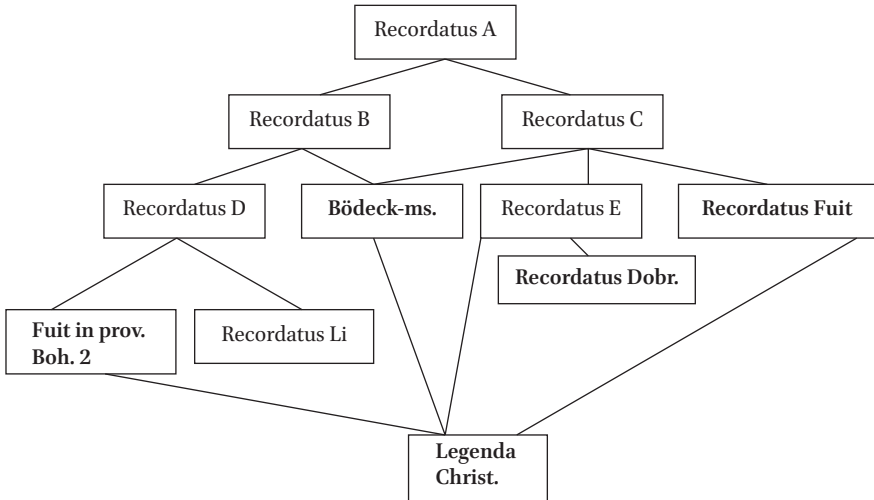
STEMMA 5   *Stemma of another branch of Ludmila-legends according to* Urbánek, R.: Legenda, *I. 1, p. 180. For existing texts I used bold format.*

Recordatus is not a part of the legend *Fuit* but an independent composition.[104] On the basis of the argument that the *Substrahente se* is a fragment of a complete text, he believed there must have been an Old Church Slavonic Legend which was translated into Latin in the St. George convent in Prague.[105] He regarded the *Substrahente se* as quite old because of the simplicity of the style and the mention of Ludmila as a saint.[106] He linked its origin to the Břevnov Monastery and dated it to the time before 1100.[107]

In Urbánek's opinion, the fact that the *Prologue* and the *Fuit* diverge in their narratives after Ludmila's death indicated that there was one Old Church Slavonic model which ended with the death of that female martyr.[108] He believed the *Fuit* (and the *Crescente fide*) had the same model because all those writings have the same narrative pattern.[109] Urbánek thought chapters 8 to 10 in the legend *Fuit* were not the original part of the text but were taken from the *Legenda Christiani*.[110]

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104   Ibid., 165, 168–169.

105   Ibid., 164.

106   Ibid., 168–170.

107   Ibid., 172–174.

108   Ibid., 173–174.

109   Ibid., 164.

110   Ibid., 177–178.
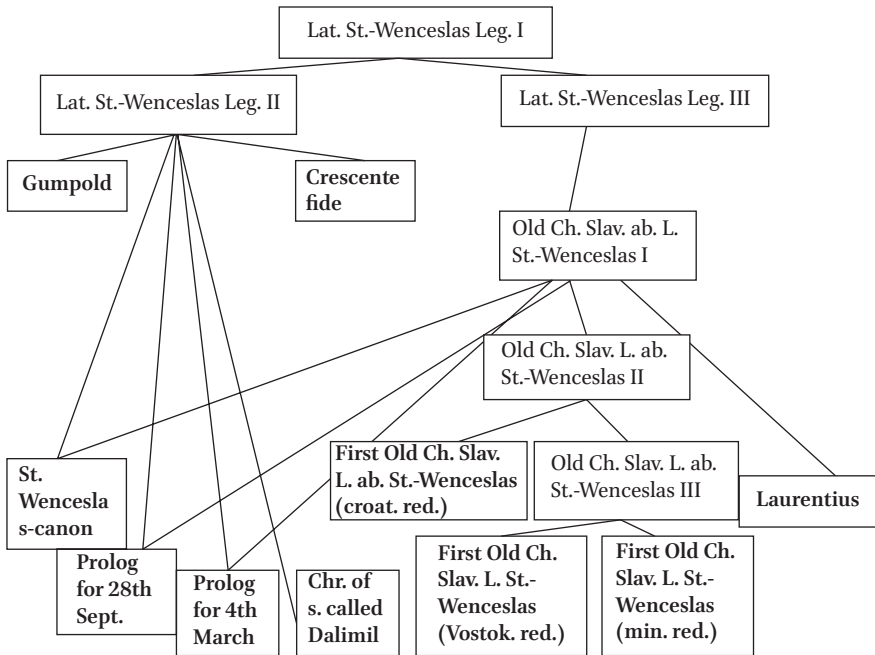
STEMMA 6 *Stemma of St.-Wenceslas-legends according to* URBÁNEK, R.: Legenda, *I. 1, p. 180. For existing texts I used bold format.*

Since one of the manuscripts of the *Recordatus*, UK X B 12, does not contain any indication of that work being the part of a complete text, Urbánek declared it an independent composition.[111] He dated it to the late tenth century, soon after the *Fuit*.[112]

Urbánek also paid attention to the confusion between veil and rope in the account of Ludmila being tortured to death and argued that such changes in miracle narratives could hardly be coincidental.[113] He associated such changes with an incident in 1100 mentioned by Cosmas of Prague: the Prague bishop raised doubts about Ludmila's sanctity, but his doubts were rebutted by a fire ordeal.[114] The Prague bishops supposedly felt ashamed for that reason and Urbánek thought that the replacement of the veil, with which Ludmila was believed to have been strangled, with a rope took place in order to avoid

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111   Ibid., 176.

112   Ibid., 183. The stemma which he proposed (ibid., 180) containd eleven items at four levels, but only four of all the presented texts exist!

113   Ibid., 184–209. He points out (ibid., 184) that *"změny motivů legendárních nikdy nejsou nahodilé./changes of legendary motifs are never unintentional."*

114   Ibid., 191–192.

mentioning the bishop's humiliation. Furthermore, Urbánek placed the Bödec legend in the early twelfth century, because, he argued, besides its concilliatory attitude towards the bishops of Prague, the author of that narrative had in mind two authorities, namely the prince and the bishop of Prague, whose support was needed for the canonization of Ludmila. According to Urbánek, that would also explain the insistence on the merits of the Přemyslid dynasty in the introduction of Christianity to Bohemia.[115]

As for the Wenceslas legend, the author of the Bödec legend was believed to have followed several models, including the *Crescente fide*[116] and the *Gumpold Legend*.[117] Furthermore, in Urbánek's opinion, the author of the Bödec legend knew *Oriente iam sole*, the legend written by Laurentius, as well as a number of Old Church Slavonic legends, even though none is mentioned in the Bödec legend.[118]

Urbánek devoted a considerable attention to the relationships between several Wenceslas legends.[119] The third volume of his book opened with a discussion of the final *translatio* rendered in those legends.[120] On the basis of the fact that not all manuscripts of the *Gumpold Legend* contain that *translatio*, he advanced the idea of two versions.[121] Similarly, he called attention to the two versions of the *Licet plura* and tried to prove the earlier origin of the one preserved in later manuscripts.[122] He tried to establish that the author of the *Second Old Church Slavonic Legend* knew also version A of the *Licet plura*. Urbánek of course noted that the redaction B contains more original information, for only in that version we can find the statement *"plures adhuc visi miraculi superstites referunt testes."* Urbánek assigned a literary meaning to that statement.[123] He explained that the similarities between version A and the

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115   Ibid., 191–193. Reflections of this type also appear nowadays – motivations for writing individual early medieval works are questioned and the most specific solutions possible are sought.

116   Ibid., 211–212.

117   Ibid., 210.

118   Ibid., 212–213.

119   Ibid., 221–400.

120   Ibid., 223–269.

121   Ibid., 223.

122   Ibid., 224–229. He believed that the version of the late manuscript published by Podlaha (A) is closer to the original (*"trium annorum per circulum"*, as opposed to *"per aliquot circula annorum"*; *"post triduum"* in *Crescente* and in Gumpold, as opposed to *"post aliquot"*), see ibid., 225.

123   Ibid., 225.

Oportet were an indication of one and the same model, the original *translatio* legend and the oldest Wenceslas legend, the author of which was the archpriest Gebhard of the St. George convent in Prague.[124]

It is for the same reasons that Urbánek devoted considerable attention to the story of Podiven. He thought he had figured out why this companion of St Wenceslas appears in the legends mostly without a name: he had many *"not good features"*,[125] which even Cosmas of Prague tried to hide.[126] Christian drew from the legends *Oriente iam sole* and *Crescente fide*.[127] According to Urbánek, the *Gumpold Legend* and the *Crescente fide* had a common model.[128] Urbánek linked the development of Podiven's cult with the relocation of his relics to St Nicolas Chapel in 1124.[129] He regarded the versions by Gumpold,[130] Cosmas of Prague, and Christian, as well as the version of the *Oriente iam sole* as a reflection of the continuous development of the cult.[131] He also believed that there was an independent Podiven legend written around 1050, before the reconstruction of St Vitus Cathedral in Prague.[132] In the spirit of the earlier historiography, Urbánek treated the mention of money used as almsgiving as an argument in favor of the later origin of at least a part of *Legenda Christiani*.[133] For the same reason, he pointed to Christian's report about the *"basilica where the both saints rest"* as an indication of the location of Podiven's burial in the St Vitus Cathedral.[134] Furthermore, Urbánek agreed with Bretholz's

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124   Ibid., 227. He also considered closer similarities of these texts as regards content – ibid., 229–233. Moreover, he identified the authors having written in favour of Drahomíra with adherents of Old Slavonic liturgy, see ibid., 227–228.

125   Ibid., 231–232. He mentioned particularly Podiven's thirst for revenge, relationship with Wenceslas' concubine and positive attitude to the Germans, which he saw in the fact that Podiven fled from justice to Germany. Urbánek showed the existence of considerable similarities between individual traditions.

126   Ibid., 232–233.

127   Ibid., 249.

128   Ibid., 233–234.

129   Ibid., 245–249. Christian does not mention it only because of his shrewdness, see ibid., 265–266.

130   Ibid., 256: He believed that Gumpold's description of Podiven as a *"youngster"* was a result of lack of stranger's knowledge rather than a proof of a vestige of a different tradition.

131   Ibid., 255.

132   Ibid., 257.

133   Ibid., 260, 261–262.

134   Ibid., 260.

interpretation of the report about the tomb of Podiven.[135] He held Christian's report of cooks learning the Holy Word as clearly ahistorical.[136]

When analysing the sections regarding Podiven, Urbánek dealt with the interpretation of Chapter 10, especially the mention of Kouřim, indicated in the legend as *"urbs populosa"*. As only a town, not a castle, could be described as crowded, Urbánek regarded those two words as an indication of a late origin of the legend.[137]

On the basis of similarities between the *Crescente* and the *Gumpold Legend*,[138] Urbánek tried to find the oldest – now lost – Wenceslas legend written in defense of the Latin rite.[139] He tried to prove that the so-called Bohemian version of the *Crescente*,[140] which he assumed to be older than the Bavarian version, for it has better readings of various passages, is closer to the *Gumpold Legend*.[141] According to him, both legends display the same narrative pattern.[142]

He dated the *First Church Slavonic Legend* to the late tenth century because he considered it *"an interesting [piece of] evidence of the millenial moods."*[143] He assumed that since there were gradually fewer mentions of Ludmila in the single versions, because *"the supporters of Old Church Slavonic liturgy and literature"* were losing their influence.[144]

Urbánek considered the legend *Oportet*, which he liked to call *Sub regno gloriosissimo*, a work written around 1050 by a German author, perhaps the Prague provost Marek.[145] Urbánek explained some discrepancies in the text by means of the antiquity of the supposed model of the legend.[146] In his opinion, the *Gumpold Legend*, the *Licet plura*, the so-called Bohemian version of the

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135   Ibid., II. 2, n. 240, 195–196. He formulated Christian's dependence on Cosmas and the *Annales de rebus gestis post mortem Przem. Ottakari regis*, also in other places, see ibid., 381–382, 386–388.

136   Ibid., 262–264.

137   Ibid., 250–255, especially at 253.

138   As one of few scholars, he appreciated Gumpold's style, or more precisely, claimed that qualities of literary style should be assessed with criteria of that time. He particularly pointed to the fact that the emperor would have not assigned writing of the legend to just anyone, see ibid., 271.

139   Ibid., 277–284.

140   Ibid., 277–278.

141   Ibid., 274–276.

142   Ibid., 277–284.

143   Ibid., 286.

144   Ibid., 292–296.

145   Ibid., 305. He argued that the author had not known of Podiven's translation around 1050.

146   Ibid., 304.

Crescente, and the Wenceslas legend by Laurentius of Monte Cassino were all sources for the *Oportet*.[147] He also found similarities between *Oportet* and the *Second Old Church Slavonic Legend*.[148]

He dated the *Second Old Church Slavonic Legend* to before 1060, since the legend contained no information on the relocation of Podiven's relics.[149] He understood it as a result of the endeavor to reconcile the supporters of Latin culture to those who supported the Old Church Slavonic culture.[150] Besides the obvious relationship between this legend and the *Gumpold Legend* – it is its extended translation – he again called attention to the similarities between this legend and *Crescente*,[151] the Legend written by Laurentius,[152] as well as the later legends *Oriente*[153] and *Ut annuncietur*.[154] In his opinion, the author of the *Second Old Church Slavonic Legend* knew the *First Old Church Slavonic Legend* to which he reacted though he does not quote it.[155]

Urbánek dated the legend written by Laurentius, a monk of Montecassino, to the early twelfth century[156] and he associated it with the *Gumpold Legend*,[157] the *First Old Church Slavonic Legend*[158] and the *Oriente iam sole*.[159]

Although Urbánek had some appreciation for the *Legenda Christiani* as a literary work, he liked neither its author's characteristic syntax nor his archaic language.[160] He believed "Christian" was a pen name for Bavor of Nečtin (1290–1332), the abbot of the Břevnov monastery and the author (according to Urbánek) of many forgeries produced in that abbey.[161]

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147   Ibid., 305–307, 309–312.

148   Ibid., 308–309; Urbánek pointed out that both legends contain murderers' names and the assassination is located in Stará Boleslav.

149   Ibid., 313.

150   Ibid., 312.

151   Ibid., 312.

152   Ibid., 319.

153   Ibid., 319–321.

154   Ibid., 321–322.

155   Ibid., 322–325.

156   Ibid., 326–327.

157   Ibid., 331–333.

158   Ibid., 329–331.

159   Ibid., 333–334.

160   Ibid., 390–396.

161   Ibid., 401–514. On Bavor's alleged forgeries of charters, see Jindřich Šebánek, "Studie k českému diplomatáři. 1: K otázce břevnovských fals," *Zdeňku Nejedlému k 75. narozeninám*, *SPFFBU* 2, no. 2–4 (1953): 261–285. The work Kamil Krofta, *Naše staré legendy a začátky našeho duchovního života* (Prague: Jan Laichter, 1947), was published approximately at the same time. However, it is a popularizing overview of more recent views rather than

Václav Chaloupecký reacted to Urbánek's work soon after its publication.[162] He condemned that work unambiguously from the very beginning: *"Urbánek is certainly a historian extraordinarily dilligent and hard-working, never tired of collecting extracts from the earlier and later literature, a historian of great talent for making combinations, but without the talent of invention."*[163] Urbánek was criticized for being proud of his own lack of originality and for overwhelming the reader with a great deal of details often taken from antiquated literature, thus diverting the reader's attention from the main line of the argument.[164] He regarded Urbánek's book more as a useful glossary than as an original text.[165] Last, but not least, Chaloupecký treated Urbánek's claim of using textual criticism as purely formal.[166]

He also cast doubts on Urbánek's proof of Christian's dependence on *Vypravování o zlých letech* (*The Narration about Bad Times*) and, in accordance with Pekař, pointed out that the relationship between those two works must be reversed.[167] He rebuked Urbánek for ignoring the Bohemian legends written in Old Church Slavonic and for his attempt to link them to the Sázava Abbey and with its abbot Božetěch, to whom Urbánek also attributed the *Epilogus* and the *Privilegium* mentioned by Cosmas of Prague.[168] Chaloupecký also rejected Urbánek's idea of a legend of Ludmila preserved in the Bödec Manuscript, calling attention to many passages devoted to St Wenceslas which suggested they were parts of a complete text.[169] As for Urbánek's idea that Christian depended on the *Oriente iam sole*, Chaloupecký did not even considers it worth any discussion.[170]

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a result of original analytical research. Krofta based his text especially on Chaloupecký's conclusions, see ibid., 60–66.

162   Václav Chaloupecký, review of *Legenda tzv. Kristiána*, by Rudolf Urbánek, *ČČH* 48–49, (1947–1948, published in 1949): 287–303. I refer to Chaloupecký's, and later also Kalandra's, review before Kalandra's work and Ludvíkovský's polemic because they have been neglected by following research and thus belong rather to the end of a certain stage of the controversy than to the beginning of a new one – despite the fact that both reviews often use arguments identical with those by Ludvíkovský.

163   Ibid., 290.

164   Ibid., 290.

165   Ibid., 303.

166   Ibid., 291.

167   Ibid., 291–292.

168   Ibid., 293–295.

169   Ibid., 297–298.

170   Ibid., 301.

Urbánek's study was also criticized by Záviš Kalandra.[171] He rejected Urbánek's idea that the creation of the *Legenda Christiani was* a gradual process of and instead favored the idea of the work's unity. In his opinion, that unity was the goal of the forgerer, as reflected in the introduction and in other formulations in the text.[172] He also cast doubts on Urbánek's position that the Bödec Manuscript was an independant work and pointed out that his argument based on the concordance between the feminine form of *"percussa"*, i.e., *"data est"* and the word *"pars"* can be justified only if taken from a purely grammatical point of view. When meaning is considered, *"pagus"* falls into the legend's text much better because it is possible to walk on the edge, but not on a certain group of people.[173] Similarly, Kalandra claimed that if one accepted the idea of the *Chronicle of Cosmas of Prague* being the source of both texts, then one would have to admit that the group of Prague manuscripts was closer to the Chronicle of Cosmas than the Bödec transcript: while Christian and Cosmas of Prague hold Přemysl a prince, the scribe of the Bödec text has him as *"gubernator agrorum"*, a sort of *"administrator of the fields"*.[174] Finally, Kalandra rejected Urbánek's attempt to make the *Diffundente* into Christian's source[175] and rebuked him for his analysis of the Ludmila legends. He opposed Urbánek's idea of a very early origin of these compositions, pointing out the influence of Thomas Aquinas.[176] Unlike Urbánek, Kalandra believed that the *Legenda Christiani* draws on the *Chronicle of Dalimil*.[177] Like Chaloupecký, he saw as futile Urbánek's attempts to identify the authors of single compositions such as the *Legenda Christiani*.[178] Nevertheless, Kalandra acknowledged the contribution of Urbánek, who *"did not succumb to the prejudice and did not let the power of tradition confuse him, but brought us many new observations and*

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171   Záviš Kalandra, "Vznik a prameny Kristiánovy legendy: Kritické poznámky k nové knize Rudolfa Urbánka," *ČČH* 48–48 (1947–1948, published in 1949): 565–582, with editorial note by V. Chaloupecký at 564. On Kalandra, see the monograph Jaroslav Bouček, *27. 6. 1950 – poprava Záviše Kalandry: česká kulturní avantgarda a KSČ* (Prague: Havran, 2006).

172   Ibid., 565–568. He pointed out that *"Amen"*, which according to Urbánek had been employed to divide individual texts, does not appear in all manuscripts and that references like *"jak se děje za našich časů/as happens in our times"* indicate the existence of a prologue and a uniform text.

173   Ibid., 569–571. Also J. Ludvíkovský argued in the same manner, see above p. 106.

174   Ibid., 571–573.

175   Ibid., 573–575.

176   Ibid., 575–576.

177   Ibid., 577–578.

178   Ibid., 575–576, 579–582.

proved the right basic thesis against the false points of view which started spreading on dangerously from Pekař's days."[179]

Not long after that, Kalandra published his own book, half of which was devoted to a discussion of the authenticity of the *Legenda Christiani*. A philologist and philosopher of Marxist inclination, Kalandra devoted his first book in fact to an interpretation of ancient Bohemian myths. In order to approach the problem critically, Kalandra had to study first the available sources. Since, according to all those who had studied it before, the *Legenda Christiani* contained the oldest legend pertaining to the beginnings of the Přemyslid dynasty, Kalandra turned to the interpretation of that composition.

He began with a discussion of hagiography and myth as historical sources. Since the *Chronicle of Cosmas of Prague* was based on the collective memory of some ten generations before Cosmas, Kalandra emphasized the remarkable power of oral tradition.[180] He pointed out that as early as the Middle Ages, *"the memory of past times . . . was counterfeited because of the megalomaniac nature of many nations."*[181] Kalandra ridiculed the attempts to reconstruct the "historical core" of the legends, and stressed that it was not possible to get to that core without independent sources at hand.[182]

From the beginning, Kalandra expressed his dissatisfaction with Pekař's arguments, whose method he regarded as *"not penetrating"*[183] and in whose reconstruction of the relations between the legends he saw no scholarly precaution.[184] To Kalandra, Christian's style was *"heavy, awkward, full of stereotypes in participial phrases at the beginning of the sentences, using a syntax impossibly declamatory with grecisms in poor taste."*[185] On the other hand, he viewed the *Prologue* as *"not without bombast"* and not excelling *"at simple sentence construction,"* but nevertheless far from being of poor style.[186] To Kalandra, Christian was a fairly decent author, who turned *"to poor taste"* when copying to hide his sources.[187] In his opinion, Christian betrayed his authorship by the excessive use of rythmical clauses.[188]

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179   Ibid., 582.

180   Kalandra, *České pohanství*, 14–15. In the introduction, O. Odložilík appreciated this book and claimed that this work is convincing.

181   Ibid., 16.

182   Ibid., 22–23. Kalandra demonstrated his reflection on the example of St. John of Nepomuk.

183   Ibid., 29.

184   Ibid., 30.

185   Ibid., 32.

186   Ibid., 32.

187   Ibid., 33.

188   Ibid., n. 2, 212.

When analysing the first chapters of the *Legenda Christiani*, Kalandra devoted some attention to a number of incorrect readings, which in his opinion could be explained by the alteration of the model's text, preserved in a fourteenth-century Olomouc breviary and in the composition *Tempore Michaelis imperatoris*.[189] (Kalandra's key premise was that something which was correct from a grammatical point of view could not derive from something which is grammatically incorrect.)[190] He thus established the Olomouc breviary as one of the main sources for the *Legenda Christiani*[191] and he declared the *Chronicle of Cosmas of Prague* and the *Chronicle of Dalimil* to be the models used for the accounts of baptism. He also did not exclude *Epilogus* which was known only in regards to this model issue.[192] In the case of the Ludmila legend, Kalandra thought it could have been inspired by the *Fuit*. By contrast, Christian's narrative was richer in terms of content and also closer to the texts of the breviary readings.[193] Nevertheless, he eventually turned the *Fuit* into another key source of the *Legenda Christiani*.[194]

Kalandra thought that the *Fuit* had also been used by the author of the *Subtrahente se*.[195] He held the *Subtrahente se* to be an independent legend. That several parts of this legend exist suggested that that legend was a fragment

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189 Ibid., 36. He regarded Christian's *"vel"* as incorrect in the following context: *". . . a summo pontifice vel a reliquis sapientibus et rectoribus ecclesie redarguitur . . ."* Also the collocation *". . . missarum solempnia ceterasve canonicorum horas ymnizari . . .",* he considered meaningless, since – according to him – there had not existed hours of canons, but only canonical hours (ibid., 36). He refused the possibility that two verbs might have formed from one, and thus he believed that the version of the breviary is more authentic. He also claimed that the passage of the Divine Office *". . . auctoritate sua statuunt et firmant . . ."* was more original than that of the legend *Tempore Michaelis* (ibid., 36–37), because he rejected the possibility that two verbs might originate from one. The expression *". . . causa oracionis . . ."* he held as a factual nonsense, created in an attempt to distinguish the text from its model (ibid., 37). In a similar fashion he interpreted the words *". . . publica voce . . ."* and refused Pekař's translation *". . . lidový jazykem . . . /in the vernacular language"* (Ibid., 37–38). All these passages are from *Legenda Christiani*, chap. 1, 14.

190 Kalandra, *České pohanství*, 35–36.

191 Ibid., 38–39.

192 Ibid., 40–41. Kalandra divided it into three episodes: baptism itself, Přemyslid legend and Strojmír's legend.

193 Ibid., 41–42. Like some previous researchers, Kalandra also considered a mutual closeness between the *Fuit* and *Crescente*, but in the end he claimed – against Chaloupecký's results and on the basis of several sentence endings – that the *Crescente* had been a model for the *Fuit* and St Ludmila's legend he dated to the 12th century, see ibid., 43–44.

194 Ibid., 44–46.

195 Ibid., 46–47.

of a complete text, a now lost, complete legend of Ludmila which was enriched with passages from the *Crescente* and the *Gumpold Legend*.[196] He also pointed out that not all manuscripts of the *Subtrahente* contained the notes suggesting that those texts were parts of some complete composition.[197] In his opinion, there were only two notes of that character, definitely not found in another fragment, the *Recordatus* (or the *Wattenbach Legend*).[198]

Since he believed that the ablative absolute was a characteristic of the style just in the beginning of the *Legenda Christiani*, he held that part of the legend, *Recordatus*, as an independent work.[199] Similarly, he regarded the *Wattenbach Legend* as more authentic, and in fact believed it to have been Christian's source.[200] Kalandra thought that Christian made only small changes to the text borrowed from his source.[201] Similarly, he treated the *Recordatus aviae suae* as the fragment of a complete text,[202] which Christian used to write his own work.[203] Further, he rejected the idea that the Bödec Manuscript was an old text: Kalandra did not trust any arguments based on the unusual form of proper names attributed to vowel and consonant changes in the language. According to Kalandra, any speaker of a non-Slavic language could have been responsible for the peculiar forms of those names.[204]

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196 Ibid., 47–48. However, the *Legenda Christiani* may be characterized in the same fashion.

197 Ibid., 48.

198 Ibid., 49.

199 Ibid., 48.

200 Ibid., 49–50: He considered Christian's text *"Hiisdem vero diebus ad tumulum beatissime et sepe memorate venerabilis matrone et martyris Ludmile…"* as impossible with regard to *"Hiisdem vero diebus ad tumulum beatissime martyris Ludmille…"* Fuit, and also *"Hiisdem vero diebus ad tumulum beatissime et sepe memorande venerabilis matrone et martyris Ludmile…"* Similarly also the expressions *"Ab obtutibus perfidorum"* (Christian and later breviaries), *"ab obtutibus perfidorum, qui eam persequebantur"* (Rajhrad), *"in eodem castello"*, *"in eodem castello Tetin vocabulo"*, etc., since breviaries allegedly mutually concur, but differ from Christian. On this basis, he concluded that they have a common archetype, different from Christian's version, see ibid., 51–53. He also pointed out a different word order and some more correct versions of individual words (*"redeuntibus"* vs. *"recedentibus"*; *"conservare"* vs. *"conservavere"*) in Wattenbach's legend, see ibid., 53–55.

201 Ibid., 55.

202 Ibid., 56.

203 Ibid., 59–60. On the priority of the passionary before Christian (at 57–58): '…*nikdo by sám o sobě nenapsal nestvůrné "basilicamque, adhuc que"; to mohlo vzniknout jen "ozdobným" pozměněním přirozeného "et basilicam, que adhuc"./no one would normally write the terrible "basilicamque, adhuc que"; this might only have been formed by a "decorative" transformation from "et basilicam, que adhuc".'*

204 Ibid., 60–62.

Kalandra listed as sources for the *Legenda Christiani* not only the *Crescente fide* and the *Gumpold Legend*, but also the *Oportet nos fratres* and the *Oriente iam sole*. He believed *Oportet* to have been a work based on the *Gumpold Legend*, with an anti-Bohemian bias meant for a Bohemian audience. This, according to him, resulted from the mention of the Bohemian princes being vassals and of paganism in Bohemia under St Wenceslas's rule.[205] When trying to understand the mutual relationship between the *Legenda Christiani* and the *Oportet*, Kalandra first pointed to Wenceslas' virtuous deeds as causing the rebellion of the magnates: since these deeds were mentioned first in the *Oportet* while Christian speaks about them one chapter later, the *Oportet* must be more authentic due to its more logical structure.[206] As the mention of Christianity being firmly established in Bohemia cannot be dated to St Adalbert's days, the *Oportet* must have been composed no earlier than the eleventh century.[207]

Kalandra also regarded the *Oriente* as more authentic in terms of style.[208] The passage in the *Oriente* in which the author treats the account of St Wenceslas getting drunk as implausible must refer not to the *Legenda Christiani* but rather to the *Oportet*.[209] On the other hand, he agreed with Pekař and the others that the *Diffundente sole* was inspired by the *Legenda Christiani*.

In a chapter entitled "In the false mirror" Kalandra proceeded to the discovery of Christian's ahistorical data and he also called attention to intentionally forged archaisms such as references to: murderers *"trying to make living on their own hands"*,[210] the Slavonic mass celebrated *"publica voce"*,[211] the mention of a forsaken Moravia which (so Kalandra) does not correspond to the mission of the bishop of Moravia,[212] and finally Wenceslas' sister Přibyslava not being mentioned among Drahomíra's children.[213] He found a strong similarity between Dalimil's and Christian's mentions of Pšov and Mělník.[214] On the other hand, Kalandra did not believe any of the historical details in the *Legenda Christiani* had significance for the discussion of the work's authenticity, since group baptism was strictly prescribed by canon law, the marriage of priests, the tribal system, the existence of slaves and other institutions were

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205   Ibid., 67–68.

206   Ibid., 68–69.

207   Ibid., 69–71.

208   Ibid., 74–76.

209   Ibid., 72–74. Kalandra also claimed that Christian and *Oriente* mention this bad habit in a different context.

210   Ibid., 88–89.

211   Ibid., 89–91.

212   Ibid., 91.

213   Ibid., 91–92.

214   Ibid., 92.

also known for later times.[215] Nor could words such as *"pontifex"* and *"basilica"* be used as chronological indications, for the author of the *Crescent*e already used the terms *"ecclesia"* and *"episcopus"*.[216] The prologue did not seem to be from the same time as the events narrated in the text. In Kalandra's opinion, if the prologue were of the late tenth century, then it should contain complaints about Bohemian paganism, and not about insufficient respect for the saints.[217] Unlike Pekař, Kalandra regarded the phrase *"partes Lutheringorum seu Carlingorum"* as evidence of a later date of the legend, insisting that the phrase appeared only in late manuscripts.[218]

He was also convinced of the lack of authenticity of: the *"patriotic"* bias of the legend,[219] the association of the defense of Slavonic liturgy with its enemy St Adalbert,[220] the link to the Bulgarian tradition (whose existence cannot be proved before the eleventh century),[221] the mention of walled buildings in tenth-century Prague[222] or the indication of Prague as *"metropolis"*.[223] Referring to Bretholz, he pointed out that in early medieval Bohemian sources the term *"urbs"* never refered to a castle with its adjacent territory. He believed this term in the *Legenda Christiani* meant town, especially in the paragraph referring to the *"once crowded Kouřim"*[224] and also in those parts concerned with the legend of the beginnigs of the Přemyslid dynasty, in which Bohemians were said to have lived *"without towns"*.[225] The numerous references to money were, in his opinion, an indication of forgery.[226] Finally, he declared Christian to be an unsuccessful, albeit erudite *"producer of archaism."*[227]

As an argument he used also the story of the beginnings of the Přemyslid dynasty, for he was convinced that it reflected the influence of Thomas

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215   Ibid., 92–93.

216   Ibid., 93–94. However, Pekař did not write that those terms had not been used before. He only pointed out that the synonyms had gradually ceased to be employed, see n. 228.

217   Ibid., 94.

218   Ibid., 94–95.

219   Ibid., 97.

220   Ibid., 97–98.

221   Ibid., 97–98.

222   Ibid., 98–99. To his objection Kalandra added a vivid comment: *"Péro by se mu vzpříčilo v ruce . . . /His quill would get jammed in his hand".*

223   Ibid., 101.

224   Ibid., 101–103.

225   Ibid., 103.

226   Ibid., 103–109.

227   Ibid., 109–110.

Aquinas and was therefore of a much later date.[228] Nevertheless, he rejected Chaloupecký's reference to Cicero's *De Inventione*. He pointed out that the number of its extant manuscripts was minimal and the two texts had a very different narrative pattern: while in the *Legenda Christiani* the future prince plays a rather passive role, in Cicero's work he has the role of an active leader.[229] Kalandra also assumed that no Christian author would have ever used this work.[230] The fact that the author had a rather mild attitude towards paganism was evidence of a later date for the *Legenda Christiani*.[231]

Kalandra also tried to back his arguments by tracing the mutual relationship between the *Chronicle of Cosmas of Prague* and the *Legenda Christiani*. Especially, he pointed out that Cosmas of Prague did not know any Ludmila legend and thus could not have known the *Legenda Christiani*.[232] He found it strange that Cosmas of Prague did not include *Legenda Christiani* among his sources and he also did not understand why Cosmas mentions only those three mysterious compositions, especially if the *Legenda Christiani* would have offered sufficient information on the subject.[233] He also thought that Cosmas of Prague would have used some information contained in the *Legenda Christiani* (e.g., the number of Bořivoj's children), if he had known that legend.[234] On the other hand, he believed that he had found evidence of the opposite relation, namely of the dependence of the *Legenda Christiani* upon the Chronicle of Cosmas of Prague. A key argument in that direction was the mention of Ludmila's undamaged robe, which suggested that Christian had knowledge of the veil miracle as presented by Cosmas of Prague.[235] In his opinion, the Podiven story in the legend *Oriente* was more authentic since it made more sense to him: in this legend, unlike the *Legenda Christiani*, the spies told the prince where Podiven was hiding, so that Podiven was caught afterwards.[236] Furthermore, Christian speaks about a wall between the graves of St Wenceslas and Podiven though according to Christian, they both were supposed to rest in St Vitus Cathedral of Prague.[237] Kalandra was convinced that the sources of the

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228   Ibid., 113–115.

229   Ibid., 126–128.

230   Ibid., 128.

231   Ibid., 112–113.

232   Ibid., 139–141. And already Bretholz, "Cosmas und Christian," 89.

233   Kalandra, *České pohanství*, 141–142.

234   Ibid., 143–147.

235   Ibid., 143–147.

236   Ibid., 147–151.

237   Ibid., 151. On further pasasages, where the *Oriente* allegedly was Christian's model, see ibid., 159–162.

Chronicle of Cosmas of Prague were the *Gumpold Legend*, the *Crescente* and the *Oportet*.[238] In accordance with the previous research, he also pointed to Bohemian yearbooks regarding 1269 in order to support his idea that Christian drew inspiration from Cosmas of Prague.[239] Furthermore, he was convinced that Christian borrowed the story about Mělník-Pšov[240] and Strojmír from the *Chronicle of Dalimil*.[241]

Kalandra believed that the author of the legend was a contemporary of Jan IV of Dražice, perhaps a resident in an Augustinian house.[242] Unlike Chaloupecký (and Urbánek), Kalandra regarded the composition as a stylistically unified work, which he regared as evidence of forgery.[243] He also criticized Chaloupecký for his attempt to find an anti-Přemyslid bias,[244] and rejected attempts to identify Christian as a member of the Slavnikid family or of the Přemyslid dynasty.[245] His conclusion was that *"the dream about the authenticity of the Legenda Christiani is over. Though some may think of it as a beautiful dream, it was all about lies and cheating. It is time to wake up; the truth points back to Dobrovský."*[246]

The fourth phase of the dispute surrounding the *Legenda Christiani* could be well summarized in Anderson's words: *"I have so far not encountered any problem as difficult as this, but which could not become even more difficult if*

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238   Ibid., 151–156.

239   Ibid., 156–157.

240   Ibid., 164–166.

241   Ibid., 166–171. Kalandra wrote in favour of the originality of Dalimil's version, that Dalimil did not need to change his name, but Christian had his reasons (which, however, holds true only in the case that the text is a forgery). Kalandra pointed out the absurdity of the whole affair as well – he regarded it absurd that those who revolted against Christianity would seek help in Christian Germany. And he also concluded that Strojmír could not have been a traitor, since there was nobody whom he could have betrayed, see ibid., 177–179.

242   Ibid., 198–199.

243   Ibid., 207–208.

244   Ibid., 194–198.

245   Ibid., 185–194.

246   Ibid., 208. He commented on works of his precursors as well as those of opposite views in the following manner (ibid., 209): *"… zlo brzy prolínalo i do jiných vědních oborů …" "Bylo možno leccos odpustit hypomanickému temperamentu prof. Pekaře; ale jeho následovníky v jejich studené, bezkrevné, zcestné akribii už nic neomlouvá a nic neospravedlňuje." "Má–li být všechno řečeno, jde tu o čest našeho dějepisectví – i o čest našeho vlastenectví. Neboť jen ti dovolí svému patriotismu falšovati historii, jichžto patriotism závisí na historii.'"*

approached from the right end."[247] In this phase of the dispute the main focus was Václav Chaloupecký's book, and in the 1930s the discussion displayed the same characteristic features as the debate around 1900. Only the openly nationalist bias of the previous era was tuned down.[248] Although both sides repeated the thirty- to forty-year old arguments, the proportion of passages devoted to various types of arguments changed. The philological analysis played a much more important role than in the previous phase. The basis for all three monographs published during this phase was textual criticism, the problematic feature being the role assigned to the comparative approach and the emphasis on the proper authority.[249] The latter was certainly responsible for a number of rather emotional statements about how suitable or, on the contrary, unsuitable (read authentic or inauthentic) some conclusions could be if not backed by arguments. Readers were often given large amounts of textual evidence without any commentary, followed by assertive conclusions which were believed to be "clearly" derived from the evidence. This was true even of those cases in which the comparative approach was reduced to comparison between individual words or ideas expressed (in Latin) in a similar way. In the end, the comparative approach was little more than a stage primarily used for launching the critique of one's opponents. That philological methods eventually failed to bring the debate to a conclusion can be certainly attributed to the rather clumsy way in which historians put those methods to work, without understanding their limits.

In this case, the above-mentioned authors represent a way of thinking about the past with a goal to obtain objective and absolute knowledge on the basis of the assumption that only one interpretation model is valid.[250] Those scholars admired the investigative techniques of diplomatics, as formulated

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247   Paul Anderson is quoted according to Peter J. Barrow, *Teorie ničeho* (Prague: Mladá fronta, 2005), 239.

248   However, despite this, Chaloupecký in a retrospective view characterized the controversy about Christian in Pekař's (but, in fact, rather in his own) times this way: *"... šlo tu ještě v daleko větší míře o to, zda naše národní vzdělanost je tak tíživě závislá na germánsko-latinském Západě, či zda rostla a pokračovala na základech, vytvořených slovanskou misií věrozvěstů..."/"... it was also more important to understand, whether our national culture depended so heavily on germanic-latin West, or was rather based on foundations, created by slavonic mission of St. Cyril and Methodius...",* see Chaloupecký, review of *Legenda tzv. Kristiána,* 288.

249   This fact, however, does not indicate a level of usefulness of methods of textual criticism, whose results have been experimentally proven.

250   But they themselves did not come to terms with this statement. On the question of objectivity of cognition of social action, see closer at pp. 125–126.

by Theodor Sickel, and embraced the methods of classical philology, which were already under criticism at that time. The application of the methods of textual criticism to the sources under debate was therefore much behind the current developments in textual criticism.[251] This illusory objectivity was in fact the result of obstinate preoccupation with persuading others – a larger audience, as well as scholars – to accept a picture of the past previously created and backed by an irrefutable, absolute method.

None of the three monographs which marked the fourth phase of the debate seem to abide by the basic scientific principle known as Ockham's razor, which requires that with multiple solutions to a problem, preference be given to the simplest.[252] This explains why all three books were based on a relatively large number of arguments derived from convoluted or simply erroneous reading of the manuscripts. The best example in this respect is Urbánek's stemma of the Ludmila legends: it contains four known, and ten unknown (but presumed) texts. Moreover, individual authors strove to reconstruct the text of a legend different from the *Legenda Christiani* but with the same content and thus arrived at quite absurd conclusions, which indicates the limits of the strictly applied, "neutral" philological method. Most historians had a good command of Latin, but insufficient knowledge of philology. Their use of the philological method was not as a tool needed to understand the text, but the means to make their results look legitimate.

Although the literary character of the legends was recognized, at least in principle,[253] no methods of literary analysis were applied systematically and no attempt was made to compare those legends with other hagiographic texts of medieval Europe.[254] This was perhaps one of the reasons for a gradual shift in analysis to a critique of the inner consistency in the legend texts and to a search for mutually contradicting statements. These could then be used (and

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251   Cf. at least a Marxist criticism of this tendency in research – Jaroslav Kudrna, *Úvod do problematiky pramenů raného feudalismu v západní Evropě*, 3rd ed. (Brno: Univerzita Jana Evangelisty Purkyně, 1986), 77–82.

252   Indeed, the situation appears so only in a retrospective view. It is clear that the mentioned authors believed that they proposed such a solution.

253   This approach became fully recognized only after the war, especially thanks to the works by E. R. Curtius and E. Auerbach, which preceded J. Spörl's research.

254   Only later, it was F. Graus who intended to attempt this. Initially, he wrote his book *Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger* as prolegomena to an analysis of St Wenceslas and St Ludmila's legends. But even general methods of literary criticism, especially with regard to medieval Latin literature, were at an early stage of development. It was only at that time when a group of structuralists formed in Prague and when Propp published his *Morphology of the Folk Tale*, which initially did not draw much attention.

were in fact used) as arguments against opponents. Kalousek's idea (targeting his opponent Pekař) that individual indicators of the authenticity of the Legend (those which, in Pekař's eyes, would become relevant when pieced together into a whole) can separately have only a hypothetical character was largely ignored. The only new methodological contribution to this debate was Jan Vilikovský's analysis of the *cursus* forms which were then employed in his thesis by Kalandra.

On the other hand, the fourth phase of the debate was not simply marked by a strong emphasis on seemingly neutral philological methods, but also by the recycling of arguments from older phases. This encouraged the use of a quite large collection of (a)historical terms, while much effort was spent in proving and disproving what every "good son of a prince" was supposed to have known in the late tenth century. Such fallacies appear in the works of both sides, thus demonstrating that historians did not have sufficient knowledge of the literature on Christian, for they kept reproducing old arguments, which had already been rejected.

Particularly important was a tendency to strengthen one's own idea of the past by means of schemes of the Wenceslas legends and the legends of Cyril and Methodius. Chaloupecký's idea of a very rich literary production in tenth-century Bohemia and Moravia was ultimately based on his conviction that the Přemyslid state was a direct successor of Great Moravia, and as such controlled not only Bohemia and Moravia, but also the territory of present-day Slovakia. To Chaloupecký, the Přemyslid state was the precursor of modern Czechoslovakia.[255] On the other hand, Kalandra made every possible effort to eliminate any piece of evidence from the debate which could have been an obstacle to his interpretation of the oldest Přemyslids as initially pagan deities turned into historical personalities. Finally, given that Chaloupecký elaborated the picture first drawn by Pekař, the fourth phase of the debate over Christian was less about Chaloupecký's book than about continuing the old dispute initiated by Pekař.[256]

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255 On his quite a strong Czechoslovakism, see works quoted in n. 386; see also *Idea československého státu*, vol. 1, edited by Jan Kapras, Bohumil Němec, and František Soukup (Prague: Národní rada československská, 1936). I would like to thank to Martin Marek for this information.

256 Pekař's influence was apparent and considerable in a number of various fields – even after his death his opinions had an impact on prospects of individual professorship candidates, see Zdeněk Beneš, "Podmínky nástupnictví: Znovuobsazení profesur československých dějin na Univerzitě Karlově v roce 1937," in *Kultura jako téma a problém dějepisectví*, edited by Tomáš Borovský, Jiří Hanuš, and Milan Řepa (Brno: Matice moravská, 2006), 171–183. The *Second Congress of Czechoslavak Historians* dedicated a lecture to his personality only

The course of the dispute, as well as the general character of Czech histori-
ography during the last eighty years or so was greatly influenced by the dimin-
ishing significance of the German, and the corresponding rise of the Czech
national element in Bohemia and Moravia. This allowed the nationalistically-
oriented Czech historiography to turn inwards in isolation, primarily because
of the language barrier and the distancing from the main trends of European
historiography. On the other hand, it is true that in the German historiography
of that time, early medieval lawcodes, annals, and chronicles were discussed
in a manner very similar (and with similar "results") to the way in which the
Legenda Christiani was approached at that same time in Czechoslovakia.[257]
The insistence on purely formal arguments and obsession with minute details
made the reading of the historical works produced during this period rather
difficult. Those were historians who regarded their own work as independent
of any requirements to inform the broader public about the results of their
activities. This suggests that despite strong political overtones, most prominent
in Chaloupecký's work, a complete separation existed between between poli-
tics and historiography in the sense that politicians did not directly influence
the work of historians and only used them as usefull alies-experts. However,
this was a result of a process which had already begun in Goll's days. Another
result of this situation was that historians communicated with each other, but
only intermittently with the rest of the society.[258] The latter adopted the con-
crete results of the work of the "specialists" in the forms of textbook narratives.

(given by J. Werstadt). Nevertheless, it should be mentioned here that the lecture dealt
with a topic which was felt more important at that time than an overall assessment of
Pekař's work – J. Werstadt referred to his relations to national socialism and to Germany
in the 1930s, see Kostlán, *Druhý sjezd československých historiků*, 158–163, 268–271.

257   See at least somes works of the heated dispute concerning age of individual versions of the
Pactus legis Salicae, documents of old "Germanic" law – Bruno Krusch, "Der Umsturz der
kritischen Grundlagen der Lex Salica: Eine textkritische Studie aus der alten Schule." *NA*
40 (1916): 497–579; Mario Krammer, "Zum Textproblem der Lex Salica: Eine Erwiderung,"
NA 41 (1919): 103–156, and also fierce controversy over the *Annales Fuldenses*, see Friedrich
Kurze, "Über die Annales Fuldenses," *NA* 17 (1892): 53–158; Friedrich Kurze, "Die Annales
Fuldenses: Entgegnung," *NA* 36 (1911): 343–393; Friedrich Kurze, "Die Annales Fuldenses:
Duplik," *NA* 37 (1912): 778–785; Siegmund Hellmann, "Die Entstehung und Überlieferung
der Annales Fuldenses." Pt. 1. *NA* 33 (1908): 697–742; 34 (1909): 17–66; Siegmund Hellmann,
"Die Annales Fuldenses," *NA* 37 (1912): 53–65; Siegmund Hellmann, "Einhard, Rudolf,
Meginhard: Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Annales Fuldenses," *HJb* 34 (1913): 40–64. In this
case, the intensity of the dispute was not connected with nationality or generation of the
authors. A number of individual controversies have not been decided yet.

258   For backing the proposed statement it would be necessary to carry out more inquiries
into discussions within community of historians at that time. So sweepingly formulated,

The connection between historiography and politics was based on common premises, which were at the basis of both political movements and scientific trends. A strong link between historiography and politics re-surfaced only at times such as celebration of millennium of the St.-Wenceslas-Martyrdom or when the very existence of the new Czechoslovak Republic was under threat.

This in turn begs the question of why the debate over the *Legenda Christiani* re-ignited in the late 1930s. The grandiose celebrations in 1929 of the St Wenceslas millennium were accompanied by many historical monographs, articles and essays, many of which were written for larger, non-specialized audiences. At the same time, a major, multi-volume anniversary work was under preparation, with an introductory study by Josef Pekař himself. Also in the making was a volume devoted to Chaloupecký, which included his analysis of the legends of Wenceslas and Ludmila. But the publication of the former volume was delayed by ten years, and came out only after Josef Pekař's death, which left vacant the prestigeous position of professor of the history of Czechoslovakia at the Charles University in Prague.[259] Both Chaloupecký, Pekař's disciple, and Urbánek, advocated of a more fact-oriented historiogaphy,[260] applied for that position. While in his application Urbánek presented himself as a specialist in the history of the fifteenth century, Václav Chaloupecký focused on the history of the Luxembourg era and on the issues of the early medieval history of (present day) Slovakia, particularly the continuity of the Slavic settlement since the Great Moravian age. For both applicants to the position opened at the Charles University after Pekař's death, the dispute over the *Legenda Christiani* was an opportunity to demonstrate professional versatility and the depth of historical knowledge beyond their narrow speciliazations. It was also a way to promote their own interpretation of the whole medieval history of Bohemia and Moravia, while linking themselves symbolically to the work of Pekař, Dobrovský, and others and to present themselvesas the heirs of great historians. Chaloupecký, who eventually got

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the statement does not quite hold true. This does not mean that politics ceased to employ historical reasoning or that historians did not attempted to influence politics any more.

259   See Beneš, "Podmínky nástupnictví."

260   However, it would not be proper to hold Urbánek as an uninventive writer of bare facts – for instance his work Rudolf Urbánek, "K české pověsti královské," *Časopis Společnosti přátel starožitností českých* 23 (1915): 1–28, 48–68, 81–98; 24 (1916): 8–14, 49–65; 25 (1917): 4–23, 61–80; 26 (1918): 10–47, where he analysed popular ideas and beliefs connected with royal office in lower strata of society during the Late Middle Ages, shows the opposite. This work resourcefully deals with various Bohemian and Moravian medieval and early modern legends of kings – real personalities or mythical figures – as well as functions of these legends.

the position, favored continuity mainly because he accepted Pekař's opinion on the authenticity of the *Legenda Christiani*. Urbánek, whose application was rejected, attacked Chaloupecký and his teacher Pekař, even though he had initially agreed with the latter. (To that, as shown above, Chaloupecký had a ready answer in the form of his review of Urbánek's work.)[261] The dispute over the *Legenda Christiani*, therefore, was more than just a matter of different historiographic views. It was in fact part and parcel of a fierce competition for positions and influence within the community of historians, some of whom took advantage of the "symbolic capital" and the prestige associated with that dispute.[262] The *Legenda Christiani* and its authenticity and generally the problem of St Wenceslas Legends was always important in discussions about the history of Bohemia in the 10th century. However, as this problem was discussed in full detail by a few specialists, only the fight for higher position within a historiographical field through the attempt to connect oneself with the charisma of their predecessors can explain the decision to take part in the debate when not many of the authors were primarily focused on the Early Middle Ages.

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261   See below, p. 86, n. 162.
262   See above, p. 122–123.

The Victory of Authenticity? Jaroslav Ludvíkovský and His Opponents

Despite the publication within a very short period of time of no less than three monographs dedicated to the legends of Wenceslas and Ludmila, the debate was far from over. Two monographs published after World War II triggered the response of the classical philologist Jaroslav Ludvíkovský (1895–1984). He was a specialist in Latin and Enlightenment literature, but otherwise was quite versed in things related to the Wenceslas legends, mainly because of his translations for the war anniversary book *Na úsvitě křesťanství* (*At the Dawn of Christianity*), edited by Chaloupecký.[1] Ludvíkovský began with two lengthy reviews of Kalandra's and Urbánek's books and then moved to a number of studies of individual issues, which in turn inspired the dissertations of some his students.

In his review of Kalandra's book, Ludvíkovský praised him for his innovative approach and fresh interpretation. He applauded Kalandra's effort to treat the topic broadly, but ultimately rejected both his method and his conclusions.[2] Ludvíkovský was particularly troubled by Kalandra's use of rythmical clauses,

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1 *Na úsvitu křesťanství. Z naší literární tvorby doby románské v století 9.–13.*, edited by Václav Chaloupecký, (Prague: Evropský literární klub, 1942). Still during the war, two shorter Ludvíkovský's studies were published – Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, "Přibyslava v Kristiánově legendě: K výkladu Kristiánovy zprávy o 'zbožné svatokrádeži' Přibyslavy, sestry sv. Václava," *Řád* 8 (1942): 240–243, and Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, "Několik poznámek k výkladu legendy Kristiánovy," *Naše věda* 22 (1943): 17–24. On his medievalistic works, see at least the introduction to a collected work Jana Nechutová, "Jaroslav Ludvíkovský," in *Antika, Čechy a evropská tradice*, edited by Jana Nechutová (Brno: Filozofická fakulta Masarykovy univerzity, 2002), 1–27, at 21–22, 24–25. Although Ludvíkovský settled down in Brno in the end, he was given his first university appointment – after several years of teaching at a grammar school – at the Comenius University in Bratislava, where he also met Václav Chaloupecký and became his friend.

2 Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, "O Kristiána, 1: Záviš Kalandra. České pohanství," *Naše věda* 26 (1948–1949): 209–239, at 209–215. On further Kalandra's interpretations and his efforts to turn the whole Přemyslid history of the 9th and 10th century into mythology, cf. Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, "La légende du princ-laboureur Přemysl et sa version primitive chez le moine Christian," in *Charisteria Thaddeo Sinco . . oblata*, edited by Kazimierz Kumaniecki (Warsaw: Societas Philologia Polonorum, 1951), 151–168.

FIGURE 8
*Jaroslav Ludvíkovský (1895–1984),
a professor of Latin philology
and literature at the Komenský
University in Bratislava and later
at the Masaryk University in Brno.
Archiv Masarykovy university, sbírka
fotografií.*

which he treated as sloppy and inaccurate.[3] Ludvíkovský disagreed with Kalandra's critical attitude towards the text and in turn criticized Kalandra for his attempt to prove Christian's borrowing from other works. Ludvíkovský pointed out that *"vel", "seu"* and *"et"* were synonyms in medieval Latin, which consequently rendered the understanding of *"a summo pontifice vel a reliquis sapientibus ecclesie"* quite easy.[4] In regards to manuscripts, Ludvíkovský observed that *"causa devotionis"* (which Kalandra held as a better reading variant) is from a fragment of the *Legenda Christiani* and has basically the same meaning as *"causa orationis".*[5] Nor can *"canonicorum horas"* (which was absurd even by the standards of the fourteenth century) be regarded as an argument against the authenticity of the legend. At this point, Ludvíkovský brought attention to Ryba's idea that the reading of the Bödec and Děčín manuscripts (*"cannonicas horas"*) still makes sense.[6] Moreover, he backed Pekař's translation of *"publica voce"* as *"vernacular language,"* thus rejecting the reading of

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3   Ibid., 215–218. For more details, see p. 88–89.

4   Ibid., 219–220. But some manuscripts contain the word *"et".*

5   Ibid., 219–221.

6   Ibid., 220.

"publice" in the Olomouc breviary.[7] According to Ludvíkovský, Kalandra's translation of the entire passage did not make any sense, for it would imply that Cyril translated the Gospels into Old Church Slavonic and established that the public rituals of the mass and the canonical hours were to be sung in public.[8] Ludvíkovský also insisted that the *Subtrahente se* and the *Recordatus* were fragments of the *Legenda Christiani.*

Kalandra was criticized not only for insufficient knowledge of Pekař's and Ryba's works, but also for a cavalier treatment of manuscripts variants, especially in respect to those passages which Kalandra believed to be authentic.[9] In Ludvíkovský's opinion, the systematic character of name rendition in the Bödec manuscript suggested an earlier date of the model used for that manuscript, not the scribe's nationality. It was important to note, according to Ludvíkovský, that the Bödec manuscript lacks a number of critical vowel and consonant changes.[10] He treated the expression *"invadere bonis actibus"* as specific to the genre, and not as an indication of logical discrepancy in the *Legenda Christiani* or as a proof Christian knew the *Oportet*.[11] Ludvíkovský rejected the idea that the author of the *Oriente* was engaged in a polemical debate with the author of the *Oportet*, but not with Christian about Wenceslas' immoderate drinking habits. While Christian writes about Wenceslas' drunkeness (and subsequent repentance), the author of the *Oportet* refers at this point to the Last Supper.[12]

Ludvíkovský called for a more in-depth analysis of Christian's vocabulary. He regarded such terms and phrases as *"pontifex", "basilica"* or *"in partibus Lutheringorum seu Carlingorum"* as archaic and as such pointing to the situation in the late tenth century.[13] Similarly, he rejected Kalandra's take on the description of the priest Pavel, which Christian borrowed from the *Gumpold Legend*, and pointed to the fact that Kalandra's translation of that passage contains words, the Latin equivalents of which do not appear in the original text.[14] He took the schooling of the servants of court, *"including the cook"* as pointing to the Roman tradition, in which a "cook" was a low-status job, and concluded that Christian's expression must be understood as a hyperbole.[15]

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7   Ibid., 220–221.

8   Ibid., 221.

9   Ibid., 221–222.

10   Ibid., 222.

11   Ibid., 222–223.

12   Ibid., 223–225.

13   Ibid., 225–226.

14   Ibid., 226.

15   Ibid., 226–227.

Ludvíkovský also protested against Kalandra's attempt to find traces of Thomas Aquinas in the *Legenda Christiani.* He pointed out that Christian knew Cicero's *De Inventione*, and elaborated the use of that text in other works dedicated to the beginnings of state organization, especially Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies* and Hraban Maur's *De rerum naturis.*[16]

Ludvíkovský favored Pekař's interpretation of the relation between the *Chronicle of Cosmas of Prague* and the *Legenda Christiani.* He analyzed the story of the veil miracle thus endorsing Pekař's idea that the *Legenda Christiani* had been written at a date earlier than, or at least independently from, the *Chronicle of Cosmas of Prague.* In support of that conclusion, he pointed to Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, a work which contained a number of similar miracles, no doubt a sign that Christian was employing a relatively common literary motif.[17] To Ludvíkovský, the miracle narrative appeared less logical in Cosmas' chronicle (the veil undamaged even after being thrown on hot cinders) than in the *Legenda Christiani* (the veil found undamaged at the time of the translation of Ludmila's relics).[18]

According to Ludvíkovský, the formulae employed in the *Legenda Christiani* were standard. As a consequence, Kalandra's (and Dobrovský's) idea that the 1269 *Vypravování o zlých letech* (*Narration about the Bad Times*), which contains similar formulae, was a source for the *Legenda Christiani* had to be rejected.[19] Nor could one accept Kalandra's idea of Christian's borrowing from Dalimil's story of Strojmír. Ludvíkovský demonstrated the internal logic of Christian's narrative and set it in contrast to the rather inconsistent narrative in the *Chronicle of Dalimil*: the traitors tried to put on the armor after being asked

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16   Ibid., 228–230, Cf. *Isidori Hispalensis Etymologiae XIII–XV*, edited by Daniel Korte, Jan Kalivoda, and Jan Souček, Knihovna středověké tradice 8 (Prague: OIKOYMENH, 2001), 258: *"Nam primum homines tamquam nudi et inermes nec contra beluas praesidia habebant, nec receptacula frigoris et caloris, nec ipsi inter se homines ab hominibus satis erant tuti. Tandem naturali sollertia speluncis silvestribusque tegumentis tuguria sibi et casas virgultis arundinibusque contexerunt, quo esset vita tutior, ne his, qui nocere possent, aditus esset. Haec est origo oppidorum, quae quod opem darent, idcirco oppida nominata dixerunt."* On a possible inspiration by Cicero, on the basis of R. Holinka's information, see Chaloupecký, "Přemyslovská pověst" 335–338. However, the passage in the *Etymologiae* refers to an initial helplessness of the humans, which moved them to seek shelters, build dwellings and later also towns. It does not concern establishment of law or origins of the state. I did not find relevant information in the places of the Hrabanus Encyclopaedia mentioned by Ludvíkovský.

17   Ludvíkovský, "O Kristiána, 1," 230–231.

18   Ibid., 231. This statement, however, is based on exceedingly subtle discincions.

19   Ibid., 231–233.

to do so, while in similar narratives they put the armor under their clothes in order not to be recognized by others.[20] Moreover, Ludvíkovský rejected the idea that that story could be used as an indication of borrowing and, like Chaloupecký, believed the motif to have been quite popular.[21]

On the basis of a study of manuscript transmission, he also regarded the dating of the legend between 1333 and 1342 as very unlikely.[22] It is hard to imagine a "Romantic forger"[23] so skilled in philology and history in the fourteenth century.[24] But Ludvíkovský agreed with Kalandra's idea that the *Legenda Christiani* was written before the legend *Diffundente sole*.[25]

Ludvíkovský was particularly critical of Kalandra's tone and approach towards his opponents. He pointed out that *"In order for (the Czech historiography) to move away (from the legacy of Dobrovský), the dispute over the Legenda Christiani must continue in an atmosphere of cool minds and in a transparent air of manners and calmness, such as Kalandra . . . wished to reach, but unfortunately failed to attain."*[26]

In his review on Urbánek's work, Ludvíkovský acknowledged Urbánek's thoroughness.[27] Unlike his approach to Kalandra's work, he began by summarizing Urbánek's main theses,[28] before moving to controversial issues, such as the meaning of the Bödec manuscript of the *Legenda Christiani* (which, according to Urbánek, is an independent legend), the fragments of the *Legenda Christiani* and the Wenceslas *translatio* legends, and finally the legend *Oriente iam sole*.[29]

When assessing Urbánek's hypothesis of the gradual emergence of the individual parts of the *Legenda Christiani*, Ludvíkovský objected to treating *"amen"*

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20   Ibid., 233–236. Besides, Ludvíkovský suggested translating Christian's *"campus"* as *"sněmovní pole/assembly field."*

21   Ibid., 235–236. This motif appears also in the *Gumpold Legend*. Most recently on this issue, see František Graus, "Böhmen und Altsachsen: Zum Funktionswandel einer Sagenerzählung" in *Festschrift für Walter Schlesinger*, vol. 2, edited by Helmut Beumann (Cologne: Böhlau, 1974), 354–365.

22   Ludvíkovský, "O Kristiána, 1," 236–237.

23   That is, a forger who is not motivated by a concrete financial profit.

24   Ibid., 237.

25   Ibid., 225.

26   Ibid., 238–239, the quotation at 239.

27   Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, "O Kristiána, 2: Rudolf Urbánek. Legenda tzv. Kristiána ve vývoji předhusitských legend ludmilských i václavských a její autor," *Naše věda* 27 (1950): 158–173, 197–216, at 158–159.

28   Ibid., 159–162.

29   Ibid., 162.

as separating markers between those parts, as Urbánek had.[30] Furthermore, Ludvíkovský pointed to those passages of the manuscript which contain the whole story of the conversion of Bohemia and Moravia to Christianity,[31] and called attention to those parts which suggested the passages in question belonged to a Wenceslas legend, and which may be found also in passages directly borrowed from the *Gumpold Legend* and the *Crescente fide*.[32] On the basis of a comparison between the *Legenda Christiani*, its Bödec Manuscript and the *Crescente*, Ludvíkovský demonstrated that acceptance of Urbánek's solution would mean that Christian would deliberately have had to abandon his model in order to replace it at this point with the text taken from the *Crescente fide*, or to present instead the text of the *Gumpold Legend*.[33] The independent legends *Subtrahente se* and *Recordatus*, according to Urbánek, should then have presented the same pattern, since the author of the Bödec legend used them first, before Christian used the Bödec legend. Ludvíkovký points out that the *Subtrahente se* and the *Recordatus* are closer to the *Legenda Christiani* than to the Bödec manuscript.[34] Therefore, Ludvíkovský prefered the simpler explanation, in which the *Legenda Christiani* was a model from which the *Subtrahente se* and the *Recordatus* borrowed.

Ludvíkovský also explained Christian's linking of *"pagus"* to feminine attributes, a reading which should be preferred to *"pars illa"* in the Bödec manuscript. According to him, *"pagus"* must be understood broadly, for in the *Legenda Christiani* the term appears in association with excommunication. Christian writes that one can walk on the *"pagus"*, meaning a district. This, according to Ludvíkovský, was a better reading than that of the Bödec manuscript, the scribe of which writes of walking on a group of pagans.[35] Furthermore, Ludvíkovský noted that the *Legenda Christiani* cited more accurately from the Vulgate.[36] In his opinion, that the second chapter introducing the mythical beginnings of the Přemyslid dynasty is not clearly separated from the rest of the text is a good indication that the version of some manuscripts of the *Legenda Christiani* is more authentic than the version in the Bödec manuscript. Ludvíkovský believed that the scribe, unaware of historical reality, linked the beginnings of the Přemyslid dynasty to the fall of Moravia, instead

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30   Ibid., 163–164.

31   Ibid., 163.

32   Ibid., 164.

33   Ibid., 164–165.

34   Ibid., 165.

35   Ibid., 165–167.

36   Ibid., 166–167.

of understanding them as a whole.[37] Ludvíkovský also rejected the hypothesis of the priority of the *Diffundente sole*, pointing mainly to the consistent endeavor of its author to put Christian's perorations in rhytmic cursus.[38] He showed the weaknesses of Urbánek's analysis of a passage in the first chapter, thus creating a model demonstration.[39]

Ludvíkovský then moved to the relationships between various "fragments" and the *Legenda Christiani*. Urbánek's scheme of the Ludmila legends, which contains more hypothetical ("now lost") legends than actual texts, appeared absurd to Ludvíkovský.[40] First he brought to attention the large number of differences between the fragments and the *Legenda Christiani*.[41] Like Pekař, he pointed out that at times, the fragments appeared to be parts of a complete text,[42] and that their style was very similar to that of Christian.[43] The latter was a strong argument against the idea that the *Legenda Christiani* was written at a date much later than that of the fragments, especially since the style in question appears independently in many compositions – the Bödec legend, the *Subtrahente se* and the *Recordatus*.[44]

Ludvíkovský also rejected Urbánek's efforts to "reconstruct" an independent and old Wenceslas *translatio* legend, as well as his complicated scheme of individual versions of the legend. To Ludvíkovský, one had simply to look at the better versions of the *Legenda Christiani*.[45]

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37   Ibid., 167–168. Ludvíkovský pointed out insertions which connected the curse with primitive orders in Bohemia.

38   Ibid., 169–170.

39   Ibid., 170–171: Urbánek claimed that Christian changed the word order for rhythmical reasons. But Ludvíkovský proved that the *cursus planus* – perhaps unintentionally – was formed in the Bödec manuscript. Whereas Urbánek interpreted the change from *"invenit"* to Christian's *"comperit"* as a replacement of a more natural expression with an archaism, rozhodl se v něm Ludvíkovský saw in this as an effort of the Bödec manuscript's author to update Christian's vocabulary. Finally, Urbánek explained a mention in the Bödec manuscript that Cyril translated the Old and New Testament *"pluraque alia documenta Sacre scripture"* as Christian's omission. Ludvíkovský, in contrast, pointed to a clearer meaning of Christian's text by emphasizing that Cyril could hardly have translated *"jiné památky starého Písma/other monuments of the old Scripture"* beside the Old and New Testament and thus Christian's *"pluraque alia"* (that is, *"mnohá další díla/many other works"*) is a more meaningful version. For more examples, see ibid., 171–173.

40   Ibid., 198.

41   Ibid., 197.

42   Ibid., 198.

43   Ibid., 199–200.

44   Ibid., 200.

45   Ibid., 200–205. Ludvíkovský also questioned the age of the sermon *Licet plura*, on the basis of the fact (mentioned already by Urbánek) that it quotes the *Oportet*, see ibid., 202.

Finally, Ludvíkovský turned to Urbánek's attempt to reverse the relation between the legend *Oriente iam sole* and the *Legenda Christiani*, which he rejected on the basis of his analysis of the story of Podiven.[46] In the end, he rejected all of Urbánek's conclusions, especially his idea that the *Legenda Christiani* was a forgery.[47]

Not satisfied with the critique of Kalandra and Urbánek, Ludvíkovský returned to the topic with a large study of several selected issues resulting from his study of the recent literature and of the manuscripts. In doing so, he critiqued Vilikovský's and Kalandra's work on the rhythmical structure of the legend.[48] Unlike Kalandra, he started not with Wilhelm Meyer's schemes, but with a comparison with unquestionably contemporary texts.[49] He thus arrived at some quite original conclusions regarding the cursus. First, he proposed a less rigid definition of the rules of the cursus.[50] He also noted that, had Christian lived and written in the fourteenth century, he would have certainly used the Gregorian cursus.[51] Furthermore, he pointed out that Cosmas of Prague (d. 1125) and Gallus Anonymus (d. 1119?) used the cursus infrequently, and when they did use it, they prefered the *cursus velox*. He therefore rejected the idea of a universal use of cursus forms in the twelfth century.[52] When

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46   Ibid., 205–213.

47   Ibid., 215.

48   Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, "Rytmické klauzule Kristiánovy legendy a otázka jejího datování," *LF* 75 (1951): 169–190. Ludvíkovský's conclusions were developed further by Eva Kamínková, "Rým a rytmus václavské legendy Oportet nos fratres," *LF* 82 (1959): 68–78, 225–234. By means of Ludvíkovský's methods, she dated the *Oportet* to the second half of the 11th century, rather to its end.

49   Ludvíkovský, "Rytmické klauzule," 179.

50   Ibid., 179, 182–184. Ludvíkovský's innovative approach in the 1950s corresponded with that of the fundamental handbook of medieval Latin, since its authors put emphasis on statistical methods, continuity of usage of prose rhythms and their considerable variability, see Mantello, Frank A. C. et al., *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and a Bibliographical Guide* (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1996), 114–118; Tore Janson, *Prose Rhythm in Medieval Latin from the 9th to the 13th Century*, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 20 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1975), the author of the most widely recognised monograph on medieval *cursus* promoted further development of statistical methods and emphasized the necessity of connecting inquiries into frequency of *cursus* usage with statistical research on frequency of various types of words according to use of accents, see ibid., 19–26. On the basis of concrete materials, he pointed out a considerable spread of the *cursus* in the 9th century throughout Europe, in the 10th century in northern Italy in mixed forms and since the half of teh 10th century in a pure form in area of the present-day Germany thanks to Adalbert of Magdeburg, see ibid., 36–40, 40–45 a 50.

51   Ibid., 187–188.

52   Ludvíkovský, "Rytmické klauzule," 184–185.

analyzing the *Legenda Christiani* and other tenth-century texts, he pointed to similar rhythmic structures,[53] much in contrast to the legend *Diffundente sole* in which the cursus was obviously realized by means of drastic syntactic changes.[54] Ludvíkovský did not go as far as to use the results of his study as a proof of authenticity. Instead, his goal was to show that such arguments have little value in the debate over the *Legenda Christiani.*

Ludvíkovský encouraged some of his students to continue his own work on the relationship between the most ancient Wenceslas and Ludmila legends.[55] Some of his students' work was geared towards the building of a lexicon of the *Legenda Christiani*[56] and analyzing its style,[57] and as such focused on the stylistic unity of the text. They also effectively demonstrated that the *Subtrahente se* and the *Recordatus* are only variants of the *Legenda Christiani*, and not independent legends in their own right.

Ludvíkovský had much success in his comparison of the *Legenda Christiani* with the *Gumpold Legend* and the *Crescente fide.*[58] He had no objections against Pekař's idea of the *Crescente* being written before the *Gumpold Legend* and he also accepted Pekař's suggestion that Christian borrowed from both compositions. However, he pointed out that in the text of the *Crescente fide* there are some logical discrepancies which cannot be explained on the basis of studying the relationship between that composition and the *Gumpold Legend.* Nevertheless, he believed that those discrepancies could be explained on the

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53   Ibid., 180–182, 186–187.

54   Ibid., 188–190.

55   L. Neubauerová, *Kristián a Kosmas*, PhD diss., Masarykova Univerzita, n.d. (I did not have the work at my disposal.)

56   Marie Julínková, "Slovník Kristiánovy legendy a jeho charakteristika." PhD diss., Masarykova Univerzita, 1959. The author concludes that the language of the *Vulgata* had a substantial impact on Christian, see ibid., 139–140. In many regards, the work proceeds from J. Pekař's and J. Vilikovský's views.

57   Rudolf Ambro, "Skladba vedlejších vět, vazeb participiálních a infinitivních v Kristiánově legendě: Příspěvek ke stylistickému rozboru." PhD diss., Masarykova Univerzita, 1954. Concerning the issue in question, author's reflections of unity of the style of the legend are most interesting, see ibid., 184–205. Precious additions presented more recent works Hana Jedličková, "Über den Gebrauch der Kasus und Präpositionen in der Legende Christians und in Ut Annuncietur," *AUC* Phil. et Hist. 4 (1960): 55–77; Alena Dohnalová-Hadravová, "Ablativy absolutní v Kristiánově legendě," *LF* 109 (1986): 141–146; Dana Martínková, "Sémantické poznámky ke Kristiánově legendě," *LF* 109 (1986): 72–75; Dana Martínková, "Příspěvek k poznání slovní zásoby Kristiánovy legendy," *LF* 111 (1988): 83–87. These articles confirmed results of previous research to a large extent, since they gathered new arguments as regards unity of Christian's style and vocabulary and their specifics.

58   Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, "Crescete fide, Gumpold a Kristián: Příspěvek k datován Legendy Kristiánovy," *SPFFBU* D 1 (1955): 48–56.

basis of the *Legenda Christiani*.[59] Due to the apparent priority of the *Crescente fide*,[60] this would necessarily mean that there was an earlier, now lost version.[61] That the *Legenda Christiani* represents the text tradition of a legend which was not preserved in the most ancient manuscripts of the *Crescente fide* dating to the eleventh century is a clear argument that Christian wrote before AD 1000.[62]

In his following study devoted to the so-called Bohemian version of the *Crescente fide*, Ludvíkovský managed to prove the priority of the so-called Bavarian version of that legend. According to him, it is unlikely that the author of the Bavarian version and Gumpold left out the same exact parts when copying from the text of the so-called Bohemian version.[63] He therefore explained the interpolations in the Bohemian version, the earliest manuscripts of which may be dated to the twelfth century, by means of the *Legenda Christiani*.[64]

In one of his last works, Ludvíkovský criticized the idea that the last chapter of the *Legenda Christiani* was a later addition.[65] He wrote a number of studies dealing with the legend's interpretation[66] and other minor issues,[67] includ-

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59   Ibid., 50–52.

60   Ibid., 52–54.

61   Ibid., 54–55.

62   Ibid., 55–56. It cannot be ruled out that there were two versions and only the one extant today was copied, whereas the other version survived in manuscripts at least for some time. But it is apparent that Ludvíkovský's solution was more simple and thus probably more appropriate.

63   Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, "Nově zjištěný rukopis legendy Crescente fide a jeho význam pro datování Kristiána," *LF* 81 (1958) 56–68, at 65.

64   Ibid., 64, 65–67.

65   Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, "Souboj sv. Václava s vévodou kouřimským v podání václavských legend," *Studie o rukopisech* 12 (1973, published in 1975): 89–100.

66   Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, "Great Moravian Tradition in the 10th Century Bohemia and *Legenda Christiani*," in *Magna Moravia: Sborník k 1100. výročí příchodu byzantské mise na Moravu*, edited by Josef Macůrek. Spisy UJEP v Brně 102 (Prague: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1965), 525–566. He also wrote a summarizing work, see Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, "Latinské legendy českého středověku," *SPFFBU* E 18–19 (1973–1974): 267–308, on Christian especially at 266–272. Besides the earliest hagiography he dealt with later legends and their interdependence as well; he particularly proved the mutual independence of *Ut annuncietur I* and *Oriente I*, which he dated to mid-13th century, cf. Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, "Václavské legenda XIII. století 'Ut annuncietur', její poměr k legendě 'Oriente' a otázka autorství," *LF* 78 (1955): 196–209; see also corrective comments in Dušan Třeštík, "Kristián a václavské legendy 13. století," in *Problémy dějin historiografie*, vol 1., AUC Phil. et hist. 2, Studia historica 2, 1981, (Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 1983), 45–91.

67   Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, "Tunna und Gommon: Wikinger aus der Prager Fürstengefolgschaft?" *Folia diplomatica* 1 (1971): 171–188.

ing the identification of the legend's author.[68] According to Ludvíkovský, the name of the author must have really been Christian, as otherwise the pun on that name in the prologue would make no sense.[69] On the basis of the legend itself, Ludvíkovský followed Chaloupecký in regarding Christian as a relative of St Adalbert and as such as a member of the Slavnikid family.[70] Crowning Ludvíkovský's life achievements was a new edition of the legend.[71]

Meanwhile, several other works were published on the oldest Czech saint lives. Some were in agreement with Ludvíkovský's conclusions, especially the controversial Olomouc Bohemist Oldřich Králík (1907–1975)[72] and the historian Dušan Třeštík (1933–2007).[73] Others rejected the authenticity of the legend. Most prominent among the latter was Zdeněk Fiala (1922–1975), a professor of auxiliary historical sciences at the Charles University. Fiala was working at that time on the settlement terminology in the oldest sources and it was in the context of that research that he stumbled upon the *Legenda Christiani.*

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68   Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, "Kristián či tzv. Kristián?" *SPFFBU* E 9 (1964): 139–147.

69   Ibid., 142–143.

70   Ibid., 145.

71   *Legenda Christiani*: Vita et passio sancti Wenceslai et sancte Ludmile ave eius, edited by Jaroslav Ludvíkovský (Prague: Vyšehrad, 1978). See Anežka Vidmanová, review of *Legenda Christiani*: Vita et passio sancti Wenceslai et sancte Ludmile ave eius, edited by Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, LF 103 (1980): 117–119.

72   Králík did not pay special attention to the question of dating of the *Legenda Christiani*, he regarded this legend as genuine. See especially Oldřich Králík, *Kosmova kronika a předchozí tradice* (Prague: Vyšehrad, 1976). But with regard to the authenticity controversy of the *Legenda Christiani* is more relevant his work Oldřich Králík, "K historii textu I. staroslověnské legendy václavské," *Slavia* 29 (1960): 434–452, where the author proves the priority of the Croatian Glagolitic version of the legend. Simultaneously, he connected the compilation of the ancient Vostokov version with the Bohemian environment and its additional text was explained as interpolations from the *Legenda Christiani*. Králík's work was positively appreciated only by H. Kølln, for whom it served as a basis in Herman Kølln, *Die Wenzelslegende des Mönchs Christian*, Historisk-filosofske Meddiler 73 (Kopenhagen: Munksgaard, 1996), 48–50. He dated the legend in question to the early 11th century and linked it to the loss of Moravia and a need to present a claim to this land. I prefer the late 10th century because of the emphasis on the legend's text itself instead of Kølln's secondary hypothesis. Also the Bollandist P. Devos dealt with the issue of this issue, see Paul Devos, "La '*Legenda Christiani*' est-elle tributaire de la vie 'Beatus Cyrillus'?" *Analecta Bollandiana* 81 (1963): 351–367. The study attempts to prove that the legend *Beatus Cyrillus* was written around 982 and served as a source for Christian. The article Paul Devos, "Autour de 'Christian' petite chronique tchèque," *Analecta Bollandiana* 102 (1984): 415–418, is only a brief factual note.

73   See above pp. 113–114.

FIGURE 9   *Zdeněk Fiala (1922–1975), a professor of auxiliary historical*
sciences at the Charles University. Archiv Univerzity Karlovy,
Fotoarchiv, Sbírka pozitivů osobností 152.

What caught his eye was the consistent use in that text of the phrase *"civitas Pragensis"* to refer to the Old Town, but not to the Castle.[74] He also called attention to the specific terminology of the oldest Wenceslas legends, which unlike the *Legenda Christiani*, employ *"civitas"* for the community, while reserving the term *"urbs"* for the built area.[75] From the first observation, Fiala drew the conclusion that the *Legenda Christiani* reflected the period during which Prague existed as a town, namely after the second half of the twelfth century.[76] Because the term *"metropolis"* which appears in the *Legenda Christiani* is also attested in the *Chronicle of Cosmas of Prague*, the former must have been written after 1100.[77] Fiala dealt with many other supposedly ahistorical data in the *Legenda Christiani*, without apparently being aware of Josef Pekař and P. Athanasius's comments on the matter.[78] To Fiala, the advocates of the legend's authenticity

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74   Zdeněk Fiala, "O pražském názvosloví v legendě Kristiánově." *ČsČH* 18 (1970): 265–282.

75   Ibid., 267–271.

76   Ibid., 275–278.

77   Ibid., 278–282.

78   Remarks concerning an estate, paying with coins, etc., see Zdeněk Fiala, "Über den privaten Hof Boleslavs I. in der Christian-Legende," *Medievalia Bohemica* 3 (1971): 3–25. See also Zdeněk Fiala, "O církevně-chronologické terminologii v Legendě Kristiánově," *AUC*

were simply reactionary, and for that reason he did not devote much attention to Ludvíkovský's other findings.

In his reply, Jaroslav Ludvíkovský pointed out that the sample of data Fiala used for his analysis was not sufficiently representative to justify any exact conclusions on the chronology.[79] Ludvíkovský maintained his position even after the publication of Fiala's monograph.[80]

Fiala's efforts to shift the emphasis from arguments to ideology and use that in order to denounce his opponents as "reactionary" were a move in a very dangerous direction.[81] Dušan Třeštík, therefore, spent much energy in demonstrating that the "progressive" character of any historian cannot be measured by his or her opinion about the authenticity of the legend.[82] Třeštík also summarized the arguments for the authenticity of the Legend Christianity he had found the most convincing in his "ten theses for the authenticity of Legenda Christiani".[83] Třeštík declared the *Legenda Christiani* to be a unified literary work, without any later additions.[84] According to him, the Ludmila legends *Subtrahente se* and *Recordatus* were extracts from the *Legenda Christiani*, as shown by the remarkable unity of style in which all three were written.[85] After establishing the date of the fragments, he concluded that that date may be

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Phil. et Hist. 3–4 (1971): 15–37; Zdeněk Fiala, "O pramenech tak řečeného Dalimila k jeho historii sv. Václava." *ČsČH* 19 (1971): 871–900; Zdeněk Fiala, "O Kristiánových znalostech historie 10. století." *ČsČH* 21 (1973): 389–398.

79   Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, Civitas Pragensis a metropolis Pragensis v Kristiánově legendě. SPFFBU F 16, 1972, 7–16.

80   Zdeněk Fiala, *Hlavní pramen legendy Kristiánovy*, Rozpravy ČSAV, řada společenskovědní 84, no. 1 (Prague: Academia, 1974). Fiala argued especially with the passage regarding Podiven; he claimed that, according to Christian, Podiven was separated by a wall not from the duke but from a basilica, see ibid., 29–43. Like many other previous authors, he also considered legendary motifs as anachronisms, see ibid., 38. He rejected all more recent literature, particularly J. Ludvíkovský's works, see ibid., 72–73; cf. Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, review of *Hlavní pramen legendy Kristiánovy*, by Zdeněk Fiala, LF 98 (1975): 164–172.

81   A fitting example concerning abuse of fear of state/secret service power in a scholarly dispute or of personal animosity, see Aron J. Gurevič, *Historikova historie* (Praha: Argo, 2007).

82   Dušan Třeštík, "Deset tezí o Kristiánově legendě," Folia Historica Bohemica 2 (1980): 7–33, 7–15; Třeštík, *Kristián a václavské legendy 13. století*, 81–82.

83   Třeštík, "Deset tezí". But the majority of arguments he based on older literature. It is worth mentioning that Ludvíkovský's work contains the ten points as well, see Ludvíkovský, *Latinské legendy*, 271.

84   Ibid., 15–16.

85   Ibid., 16.

used as a *terminus ante quem*.[86] Třeštík showed that the *Legenda Christiani* served as a source of inspiration for many thirteenth- and fourteenth-century works of hagiography,[87] while no serious proof had so far been produced for the legend being used by earlier authors.[88] Moreover, no evidence exists that Christian employed any work written after 994[89] or that his work contains anachronisms.[90] Třeštík rejected the idea that the *Legenda Christiani* was written between 997 and 1039, because, according to him, no cult of St Adalbert existed in Bohemia and Moravia at that time.[91] Like Pekař, he was suspicious about the reasons behind a supposed forgery. Had the *Legenda Christiani* been commissioned by the nuns at the St. George convent, it is odd that the legend was not devoted to St Ludmila alone. Had this text been used to justify the restoration of the Olomouc bishopric, it is hard to explain why a legend of both Wenceslas and Ludmila was needed in the first place.[92] Třeštík therefore agreed with Goll: one needed to accept the legend as authentic until some solid proof of its later origin was found.[93]

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86   Ibid., 19.

87   Ibid., 17–18. He pointed out that together with the *Ut annuncietur I* the *Legenda Christiani* had been a source of the *Oriente iam sole I* ane that it is the use of both of these models which explains alleged discrepancies in comparison with the *Oriente*.

88   Ibid., 19–20.

89   Ibid., 20.

90   Ibid., 20–23. In a polemic against Fiala, Třeštík pointed out that archaeologists had proved the existence of early medieval estates. He paid attention to the titles of Henry I mentioned by Thietmar of Merseburg, which are as inappropriate as those used by Christian. Reading the Bible in the evenings he connected with the influence of Benedict's Rule, in opposition to the idea that the reading had been linked to the habit of a private evening divine service. He did not rule out the existence of a bridge over the Vltava nor usage of coins, proved by numismatic evidence as well as by an account by Abraham ibn Jacob. On the contrary, in the number 300 he saw echoes of the circumstances before Břetislav's reform and thus proof of the authenticity of the legend.

91   Ibid., 18–19.

92   Ibid., 23–24.

93   Ibid., 24. Also in the following years Třeštík dealt with this issue, but focused rather on the interrelations between other St Wenceslas and Ludmila legends in trying to prove the existence of a not extant Wenceslas legend x, already supposed by some scholars in the past (Vacek, Novotný), see Dušan Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců* (Prague: Academia, 1981); Třeštík, *Kristián a václavské legendy 13. století*, 45–91; Dušan Třeštík, "Diskuse k předloze václavské legendy Laurentia z Monte Cassina," *LF* 107 (1984): 85–89; Dušan Třeštík, "Václav a Berengar: Politické pozadí postřižin sv. Václava roku 915," *ČČH* 89 (1991): 641–661; Dušan Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců: Vstup Čechů do dějin, 530–935* (Prague: Lidové noviny, 1997). Besides, he is the author of two earlier studies on *First Old Church Slavonic Legend* and

Besides making a marginal assessment of the importance of the *Legenda Christiani* as a source,[94] Třeštík dealt with that legend only in a short study dedicated to the identification of three literary characters as one and the same person – Christian, the author of the legend; a brother of the prince, who was also the leader of the embassy to Rome; and Strachkvas of the *Chronicle of Cosmas of Prague*, a proud candidate to the episcopal see.[95] Třeštík rejected Dobner's argument that Christian moral standards would have prevented a monk from writing bad things about his own father. Like Pekař, he pointed out that Gumpold lets Wenceslas speak badly about his own mother, and noted that if the saint at the center of the narrative could behave in that way, then it is quite possible that the author of that narrative was not too far from the same mark.[96] Since the Přemyslid and the Slavnikid clans were related to each other, Třeštík saw no problem with the word *"nepos"*, which Christian employs to refer to Adalbert.[97] And since there were no other Bohemian princes, Christian must have been Boleslav's son and Wenceslas' nephew.

For Třeštík, the *Legenda Christiani* was a significant argument for a particular historical concept. Třeštík believed in a close relationship between Great Moravia and the rise of the Přemyslid rulers,[98] not only as a matter of historical continuity, but also as a result of matrimonial alliances. In addition to Bořivoj being baptized by Methodius, ninth-century Moravia and tenth-century Bohemia were linked by a similar representation of power. Třeštík stressed the role of those developments which, in his view, were correlates of the rise of

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the St. Laurentius of Monte Cassino's legend, see Dušan Třeštík, "Miscellanea k I. staroslovanské legendě o sv. Václavu: 'Každý, kdo povstává proti pánu svému, podoben jest Jidáši," *ČsČH* 15 (1967): 337–343; Dušan Třeštík, Miszellanea zu den St. Wenzelslegenden II: Laurentius aus Monte Cassino und Laurentius aus Amalfi," *Mediaevalia Bohemica* 1 (1969): 73–92.

94 Třeštík, *Kristián a václavské legendy 13. století*, 80–85 pointed out that the author of the legend had advocated Přemyslid claims to Moravia by means of an account of Bořivoj's baptism in that land. Besides, he had been a defender of legitimacy of Old Church Slavonic liturgy and the hagiographical tradition represented by the *First Old Church Slavonic Legend*. According to Třeštík, Christian's work as a whole reflects a certain level of civilization in the Czech lands in the late tenth century.

95 Dušan Třeštík, "Přemyslovec Kristián," K poctě Jiřího Slámy. *AR* 51 (1999): 602–613.

96 Ibid., 607–609. In this regard, Třeštík also referred to the radicalism of monastic reform mentality which might clarify this relationship to the father as well, see ibid., 608.

97 Ibid., 606–607.

98 Třeštík proceeded especially from works of archaeologists here, see references in n. 101, p. 116 in this chapter.
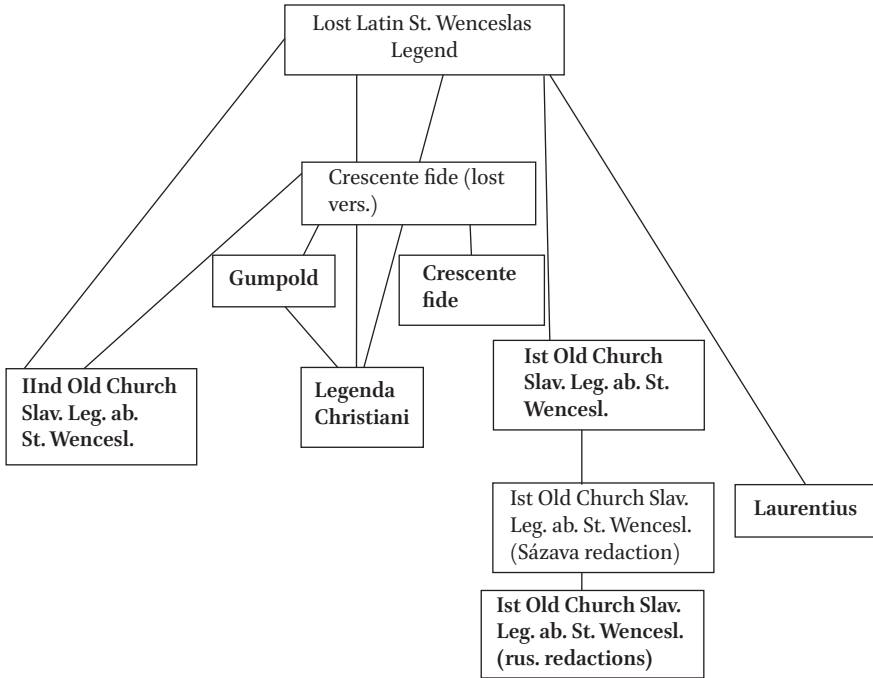
STEMMA 7   *Stemma of St.-Wenceslas-legends according to* Třeštík, D.: Počátky Přemyslovců
            (535–935), *p. 248. For existing texts I used bold format.*

a new *"empire"*[99] and of a new type of society.[100] To him, Bořivoj serving as
Svatopluk's deputy in Bohemia, was a key factor in the rise of the Přemyslids.[101]

   Three other authors dealt with the *Legenda Christiani* in recent years:
Agnieszka Kuźmiuk-Ciekanowska,[102] Herman Kolln,[103] and Jan Kalivoda. The

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99   See Kalhous, *Anatomy*, p. 12–14.

100   See ibid., p. 12–14.

101   Dušan Třeštík, Bořivoj a Svatopluk – vznik českého státu a Velká Morava, in *Velká Morava a
      počátky československé státnosti*, edited by Josef Poulík and Bohumil Chropovský (Praha –
      Bratislava: Naše veda, 1985), 273–301.

102   Agnieszka Kuźmiuk-Ciekanowska, "Mnich Krystian i jego stosunek do św. Wojciecha,"
      StŹr 43 (2005): 19–26; Agnieszka Kuźmiuk-Ciekanowska, *Święty i historia: Dynastia
      Przemyślidów i jej bohaterowie w dziele mnicha Krystiana* (Cracow: Avalon, 2007). Cf. the
      review in *ČMM* 126 (2008), 515–517.

103   Herman Kølln, *Die Wenzelslegende des Mönchs Christian*, Historisk-filosofske Meddilser
      73 (Kopenhagen: Munksgaard, 1996); Herman Kølln, "Přemyslovská pověst v Kristiánově
      legendě a Kosmově kronice," *Bibliotheca Strahoviensis* 1 (1995): 25–44. In his appeal to ana-
      lyze reasons for writing the legend and its assessment in the context of its times, Kølln
      developed the ideas of O. Králík. Kølln regarded the legend as a coherent work written in
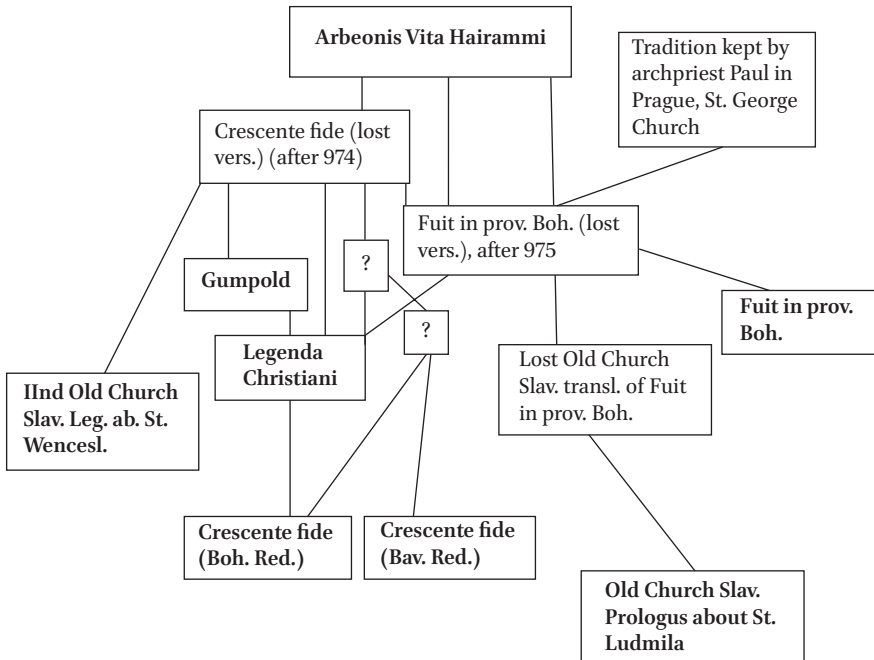
STEMMA 8   *Relations between St. Wenceslas and St. Ludmila Legends according to Třeštík, D.:*
            Počátky Přemyslovců (535–935), p. 174. Conf. also ibid., 153. For existing texts I used
            bold format.

latter's contribution is worth mentioning especially for its attempt to date the
Legenda Christiani to the time before the St Adalbert's first exile.[104] A new argu-
ment in favor of the legend's authenticity was introduced by Petr Sommer, who
noted a hint to the *Lex Salica* in the text and pointed out that the knowledge of
that lawcode was beginning to fade away by the late tenth century.[105] František

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order to glorify the domestic dynasty, to legitimize its rule over Bohemia and supports its
claims to Moravia when this land was occupied by Boleslaus 1 the Brave. Unfortunately,
his assertions were not based on a comparison, but only on the text of the work itself.

104   Jan Kalivoda, "Historiographie oder Legende? 'Christianus monachus' und sein Werk
       im Kontext der mitteleuropäischen Literatur des 10. Jahrhunderts," *Beiträge zur
       Altertumskunde* 141 (2001): 136–154. Jan Kalivoda writes a dissertation on this topic as well.
       I am grateful to Prof. Ivan Hlaváček for this information.

105   Petr Sommer, *Začátky křesťanství v Čechách: Kapitoly z dějin raně středověké duchovní kul-
       tury* (Prague: Garamond, 2001), 104–106, 129–130; Petr Sommer, "Smrt kněžny Ludmily a
       začátky české sakrální architektury." *ČČH* 98 (2000): 229–260.

Hoffmann discovered a late medieval fragment of the legend in the library of the Premonstratensian Priory in Teplá (western Bohemia).[106]

The post-war phase of the debate was dominated by two personalities, Jaroslav Ludvíkovský and Dušan Třeštík. This phase opened with two reviews introducing some of the key components of the program of thorough study of the matter by several scholars (primarily Ludvíkovský's students) working as a team.[107] A systematic approach, logical consistency, and attention to details were the main characteristics of Ludvíkovský and his students' studies. Combined with Zdeněk Fiala's early death, those characteristics secured the success of Ludvíkovský's position in favor of the legend's authenticity. Ludvíkovský's style was in sharp contrast to that of his predecessors: at times slightly ironic, it was always pragmatic and non-provocative.

A further contribution to the consolidation of that position was Dušan Třeštík's clear exposition of its main arguments. Moreover, Třeštík returned to some of his conclusions, on which he later elaborated[108] in order to produce additional support. The combined effect of all these factors was that no serious doubts about the legend's authenticity were expressed by any scholar for a few decades. This held true at the moment of finishing my dissertation, the basis of this book, in 2006. However, more realistic skepticism on the matter was expressed in a review of Třeštík's book, *Počátky Přemyslovců* (*the Beginnings of the Přemyslid Dynasty*) by another prominent scholar, Josef Žemlička.[109]

Only a year later, 2007, Novotný's hypothesis arguing for the the origins of the legend in mid-12th century was revived by Petr Kubín (*1967).[110] Kubín (similarly to Novotný or Bretholz) argued particularly on the grounds of the

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106   František Hoffmann, "Kristiánovský zlomek knihovny Kláštera premonstrátu v Teplé," in *Septuaginta Paulo Spunar oblata (70+2)*, edited by Jan Kroupa (Praha 2000), 127–129. A few others were discovered thanks to the database of the National Library of the Czech Republic www.manuscriptorium.com and, indeed, thanks to information of manuscript catalogues.

107   It prompts the question as to how the dispute would have developed if Kalandra had not fallen victim to the Communist regime.

108   See especially Jana Nechutová, "Textologické problémy v knize Dušana Třeštíka, Počátky Přemyslovců," *LF* 106 (1983): 127–128. Despite positive overall appreciation of the work, J. Nechutová pointed out the author's excessive emphasis on details and often only desired similarities between the texts based on comparisons drawn in this work.

109   Josef Žemlička, review of *Počátky Přemyslovců*, by Dušan Třeštík, *FHB* 4 (1982): 263–265.

110   Petr Kubín, "Znovu o Kristiána," in *Od knížat ke králům: Sborník ku příležitosti 60. narozenin Josefa Žemličky*, edited by Eva Doležalová and Robert Šimůnek (Prague: Lidové noviny, 2007), 63–72. See the polemic David Kalhous, "Znovu o Kristiána: Replika," *ČMM* 126 (2007): 411–417, and also Petr Kubín, "Odpověď na repliku Davida Kalhouse o Kristiánovi,"

weak status of St Ludmila's cult around 1100,[111] but he did not take into consideration that the *Legenda Christiani* might have been, for instance, an unsuccessful attempt, which seems to be supported by the extant manuscripts. He also believed that if St Ludmila's relics had been solemnly translated, as Christian puts it, her cult would have been recognized by bishops of Prague. That means, concludes Kubín that *"while D. Kalhous acknowledges the declaration of the legendist as truthful, he requires from me Christian's solemn declaration that he is fabricator."*[112]

Using the evidence collected by Petr Kubín himself, I showed that this assumption was wrong – despite the fact that Bishop Hermann (1099–1122) recognized after serious doubts[113] her sanctity around 1100,[114] one of his successors Otto (1140–1148), perhaps bearing a grudge against St Wenceslas' veneration at St Seorge Convent, did not cease to question St Ludmila's cult at least until the mid-12th century.[115] Thus the idea of an inevitable continuity of the

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ČMM 128 (2009), 171–175 and finaly David Kalhous, "K historické metodě aneb nad pravostí Kristiánovy legendy," *ČMM* 128 (2009), 177–183.

111   Kubín, "Odpověď na repliku Davida Kalhouse o Kristiánovi," 172–173: *"Kdyby Kristián sepsal svou legendu na příkaz ("ex iussione") biskupa Vojtěcha, jak sám tvrdí, a kdyby jej skutečně žádal o povolení opisovat a číst toto dílo v pražské diecézi ("auctoritate eciam vestra hec eadem firmare dignemini, quo saltem per parrochiam vestram scribatur legaturque."), jen těžko by zůstal ludmilský kult omezen jen na svatojiřský klášter."* (*"Had Kristian written his legend following the order of Bishop of Prague Vojtěch-Adalbert,…, it does not seem to be probable that Ludmila's cult would stay limited on St.-George-Monastery."*)

112   Kubín, "Odpověď na repliku Davida Kalhouse o Kristiánovi," 175: *"Zatímco D. Kalhousovi tedy postačí vlastní deklarace legendisty, po mně naopak požaduje důkazy takřka v podobě Kristiánova vlastnoručního prohlášení, že je falzem."*

113   *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum.* MGH SRG N. S. 2, edited by Berthold Bretholz (Weidmann: Berlin 1923), III. 17, 171: *"Tace, domna, de eius sanctitate, dimitte anum quiescere in pace."*

114   Ibd., 171–172: *"Mox iussu presulis sartago affertur magna prunis ardentibus pena, ubi invocato sancte trinitatis nomine presul eiecit pannum super flammivomos carbones. Mira res, fumiculus et flammicula circa pannum emicuit, sed minime nocuit. Et hoc etiam magni fuit in augmentum miraculi, quod propter nimium ardorem diu non potuit pannus de flammis eripi et tandem ereptus sic visus est integer et firmus, ac si eadem die foret textus. Quo tam evidenti presul et omnes nos periculsi miraculo lacrimas fundimus pre gaudio et gratias retulimus Christo."*

115   *Canonici Wissegradensis Continuatio Cosmae*, edited by Josef Emler, FRB 2 (Prague: Museum Království Českého, 1875), s. 237: *"Ecce volente deo Wernherus sarcophagum incorruptum nec igne tactum reperit, ad dominas laetus rediit, et prae gaudio remunerationem postulans, laetitiam nunciavit. O sancte deus! o mirabilis in sanctis suis! o benedicte in operibus tuis! quanta exultatione famulas tuas dignatus es replere, quali visitationis solatio perfundere, quam magno gaudio praesentationis laetificare! In terram*

cult and its development and of the standpoints of bishops of Prague is errone-
ous and results from a rather mechanical understanding of the phenomenon
of saints cults. However, first, there are also other texts that prove the existence
of St Ludmila's cult in 11th century,[116] and second, the legend is – seen from our
perspective – only a more or less successful attempt at establishing a saint's
cult, and does not automatically prove the existence of a fully established cult
of a saints.

It is also important to analyze Kubín's argumentative strategy. He correctly
emphasized the fact that *"...this problem is too complex to be belittled with the
remark that that problem was once solved. It is necessary to re-think it again and
again and we cannot without any doubts and easily use it as a tenth-century
source."*[117] Nevertheless, while his careful selection of words identifies the sim-
ple acceptance of the argumentation of previous historians and philologists as
a sign of recklessness, he himself mostly repeated the arguments of Berthold

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*deo gratificantes corruunt, lacrimis loca perfundunt et oblitae tristitiae ad levandam
thecam currunt, sed quasi stupefactae praesumptionem reprimunt, et vocato sacerdote
Pudone, cuius consilio et auxilio foras temptant efferre, et exeuntes ad portam civitatis
inveniunt obstructam, serratam et quasi exitui oppositam, quam multo conamine quassa-
tam nimiisque laboribus temptatam nullo modo aperiunt. Et hoc miraculo compunctae in
locum, unde exierant, regressa esunt, missoque nuncio ad episcopum Ottonem supplicant,
ut veniat, quid agendum sit, decernat. Qui respondit, se non audere facere, nisi prius mit-
tat Romam.* (This sentence is not included in primary ms. Archiv of Prague Castle, G5.)
*Iterum autem praesulem Moraviae Zdiconem implorant, ut desiderium ipsarum impleat.
Qui se facturum promittit, si antistitis earum licentiam inveniat. Non cessantes ergo claus-
tricolae a proposito, domini decani Pragensis Henrici Petrique archidiaconi ceterorumque
de conventu consilio sarcophagum relevant, aperiunt, et praevisum iuxta altare laetanter
recondunt. Nec hoc quoque praetereundum est, quod mirabile et in seculis praedicandum
furtum Wernheri declaratur, qui ablata latenter parte corporis beatae Ludmilae, athletae
Christi, repatriat, ad construendum teplum deo duos conducit, qui coepto opere mortui sunt,
in sequenti enim alii duo, in tertio ipsemet defunctus est. Hiis visis filius eius iussu vicinorum
propinquorumque Bohemiam intrat, Gervasio cancellario, consanguineo suo, gesta replicat,
per quem ammonitus ablata ecclesiae reddidit, in nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi, cui est
honor et gloria in secula seculorum. Amen."*

116   See *Notae necrologicae magdebvrgenses. MGH SS* 30. 2, edited by Oswald Holder-Egger and
       Samuel Steinherz (Hannover: Hiersemann, 1934), 750, written by eleventh-century hand,
       which mention not only *"Passio sancte Ludmile"*, but also *"Translacio sancte [Lud]mile
       martyris."*

117   Kubín, "Odpověď na repliku Davida Kalhouse o Kristiánovi," 175: *"...jde o problematiku
       příliš složitou na to, než aby se jen zlehčila pouhým poukazem na to, že jde přeci o věc už
       dávno vyřešenou. O Kristiánově legendě je nutno znovu přemýšlet a nelze ji bez pochybností
       pohodlně používat jako pramen 10. století."*

Bretholz (and Václav Novotný), formulated more than one hundred (or seventy) years ago.[118] The Legend was once again the "victim" of a struggle for prestige, as it confirms the fact that the first doubts about the authenticity of *Legenda Christiani* were followed by series of polemics directed against other texts and events of Přemyslid era that were questioned by Petr Kubín.[119]

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118 See p. 40–43, 58–61.

119 Petr Kubín, "Založil břevnovský klášter opravdu sv. Vojtěch?" in: *Ora et labora. Vybrané kapitoly z dějin kultury benediktinského řádu*, edited by Radka Lomičková – M. Jarošová (= Opera Facultatis theologiae catholicae Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis. Historia et historia artium 15), (Praha: Carolinum, 2013), 27–40; Petr Kubín, "Kanonisation des heiligen Prokop im Jahre 1204," in *Der heilige Prokop, Böhmen und Mitteleuropa* (= *Colloquia mediaevalia Pragensia 4*), edited by Petr Sommer, (Praha: Filosofia, 2006), 107–120.

Historiographical Debate: The Case *Legenda Christiani*

In summarizing the debate concerning the authenticity of the *Legenda Christiani*, I have suggested a number of criteria for evaluating that debate in the light of the general historiographic trends. The debate often reflected the tensions in Czech society as well as politics of that time. I have abstained from a general reflection on the kind of arguments offered by the two sides in the debate and the way in which the two sides engaged in that debate. Both directly mirror more general trends in historiography. As already mentioned in the introduction, a good framework for evaluating the historiographic production of this controversy is composed of three key theoretical dimensions: communication; game and network theory; and the concept of "historiographic field" and capital in its different forms (cultural, social, etc.) introduced by Pierre Bourdieu.[1]

The discursive strategies can be described in terminology of the theory of games, which is the first important concept of our thinking about the historiography. Such assumptions may help us better understand the case of the *Legenda Christiani*. After the discovery of the legend and the formulation of a thesis regarding its origin and historical value, a communication situation emerged. Balbín discovered a text and decided to produce an interpretation, thus establishing a number of key questions and possible answers, which defined the framework of discussion for the subsequent generations of

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1   Pierre Bourdieu, *Teorie jednání* (Prague: Karolinum, 1998), e.g. 13–16. On the term *"symbolic capital"*, see e.g. Pierre Bourdieu, "Social Space and Symbolic Power," *Sociological theory* 7 (1989): 14–25. Max Weber's notion of the *"charisma"* on his work on sociology of religion is close to this concept. The difference between the two ideas is that Bourdieu, unlike Weber, did not considered the forces which support domination and those which oppose it as adverse. This hypothesis transforms the idea of a dialectic relation between a language and a speaker, or bewteen an individual and society, into a rather general language of physics which might subsequently make possible mathematical formalization. On attempts at this formalization by means of game theory and net tehoery, see at least Michael J. Lovaglia et al., "Negotiated Exchanges in Social Networks," *Social Forces* 74 (1995): 123–155; Henry A. Walker et al., "Network Exchanges Theory: Recent Developements and New Directions," *Social Psychology Quarterly* 63 (2000): 324–337. These attempts are typical especially of economics and require a rather complicated mathematical apparatus. A few final passages of this chapter are only a mere glimpse, a sketch of possibilities.

scholars. One can imagine this communication situation as a move. Balbín's opponent Dobner recognized his arguments and called attention to what he regarded as their inconsistency. At the same time, he extended the spectrum of issues associated with the authenticity of the *Legenda Christiani* by adding new counter-arguments and insisting upon the importance of assessing the historical value of the *Legenda Christiani*. In this way, he stressed the complexity of the issue. Dobner's approach may also be viewed again as a move in the game. At the same time, Dobner's contribution appears to have increased the distance between Balbín, the reader interested in the *Legenda Christiani*, and the legend itself. As the number of the possible solutions grew, the complexity of the issue (the authenticity of the *Legenda Christiani*) increased accordingly. A scholar's abilities are measured by the number of issues that he or she can discuss. A change occurs when the number of accepted issues is larger than that of the issues "in the game" at a given moment.

The complexity of the issue consists of end solutions and partial arguments. The concept at stake is therefore never stable, as single solutions exist only within the realm of their application, that is, in the reflections of specific historians in a network of communication. If they are not applied or reproduced any more, the complexity of the concept at stake is reduced accordingly. This is the case of those events which we associate with the weight of a particular authority in the realm of science. This may also explain why the superficial reception of certain concepts could sometimes spread very fast (e.g., the compulsory, politically corrrect citations from Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, or the fashionable references to the Annales school in more recent time), but still help the association of a group of historians to the work cited.

Historians, as professionals, have a common interest in the past. However, before 1850, the interest in the past was not necessarily connected with professional "training", but, the rebirth of universities and strengthening of nationalistic discourse helped to give the interest in the past its form and material basis. Thanks to this process, history established itself as an independent discipline with its own rules ("historiographic field").[2] The participation in historiographic debates started to be limited to those who were familiar with a specific code, a discourse.[3] The definition of historiographical topics was rarely precise, for it emerged in the course of communication – we can imagine the topics of historiographical debates as "symbolic centres" (or as key nodes in historiographical network).[4] In a setting, both topics and their solutions would

2   See p. 21–22, 51–55.

3   See p. 21–22, 51–55.

4   See p. 21–22, 51–55.

be set up from the very beginning in such a manner as to concentrate some cultural (and economic) capital, which is structured in a historiographical "field", as there are limited number of full time paid and prestigious tenures to which acknowledgment by a historiographical community opens access. Those means could then be divided, for example, either in a large quantity of small prizes, or in a small quantity of large prizes. One can further assume that the distribution of capabilities and the direction of interests would vary from one researcher to another. Nonetheless, a modicum of resources and requirements exists for all researchers. Finally, one can presume that the researcher himself or herself may be regarded as a set of answers to some given questions and differences between historians can be represented in a simple table with their standpoints to a given problem.

If the so-called critical history is an essential ingredient in the building of group identity, be that of a community of historians or of an entire nation or another group of people, then the rise of critical history may certainly be regarded as the result of the growing tensions between individual social groups. This tension manifests itself as a search for more flexible strategies in defense of a group myth and as a weapon against other groups and the historians serving them. If criticism may be viewed as an aggressive strategy of a group of historians in the context of competition between nations, then one can explain Josef Kalousek's hostile attitude towards the *Legenda Christiani*. A supporter of the authenticity of the manuscripts of Zelená Hora and Dvůr Králové, he regarded the *Legenda Christiani* as a rival "national monument" advanced by a historian from a different school. It must be noted that in doing so, Kalousek was never aware of this motivation, but he believed he was serving "the Truth."

The communication strategies within the group thus becomes part of a successful solution game: understanding or not is not simply a matter of inability to comprehend error, but of deliberate choice motivated by the desire to reach consensus or, on the contrary, to initiate conflict, in order to promote one's own goals primarily within the historiographic field and to maximize one's advantages.[5] Moreover, there is enough space to maneuver within language. Where the precision of information plays a key role, there is indeed too much space. This situation thus allows accepting or rejecting the information for reasons far beyond the broader declared interest of the field. The recurring link between history and politics is therefore of a greater significance than previously

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5   For the importance of rhetorics in science see Gerald Holton, "Quanta, Relativity, and Rhetorics", in Gerald Holton. *Science and Anti-Science* (1993), 74–108.

accepted:[6] it is not just a matter of obtaining recognition, but a system element of historiography and its anchoring in the language and the past. For this reason, hagiography may be regarded as a form of politics in which the amount of the prize sets the limits of the game, the prize being the volume of means spent by society, rather than a primitive reflection of political interests.[7] At the same time, history (especially ancient history) appears as a very advantageous field of negotiation, given its flexible nature: nobody in the present pays for changes taking place at that time, and nobody can protest against those changes.

None of this means we have to imagine historians, especially younger ones, as small copies of Machiavelli's *Prince*, because this game is mostly not played intentionally. As self-aware historians we may notice that the solutions we come to find convincing become internalized and form part of our identity – thus there is no strict line between our texts and ourselves. We often use the conceptual metaphors connected with "correction" or "proof" of the previous analysis (*re*-reading the sources), where the historian emphasizes that he is only "returning to the primary sources." Both strategies imply the idea that somewhere, there is "The History" ideally mirroring "The Past" that is only re-constructed (and not constructed) by historians, although historians often acknowledge in the prologue to their texts the existence of many constructed histories. Here, I just wanted to express (following Eco) that all historiographical texts cannot be seen as deductive (one theory leads to the explanation of all facts), nor as inductive (well known facts leading to the theory), as we always acknowledge only the information that matches with the theory on one side, and on the other side, we are able to change the theory based on the contradictory evidence. I also think that the main focus of many researchers is to reduce the conflicts between the information to get a consistent system. (Umberto Eco speaks with Charles S. Peirce about abduction.)[8]

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6   Lack of objectivity and social limitations of human cognition was systematically analyzed already by Francis Bacon.

7   On the notion of politics, see Georges Balandier, *Political Anthropology* (Baltimore: Penguin Books Ltd., 1972), 22–49, 78–98. Further links between politics and historiography are, indeed, represented by elementary sets of premises regarding "human nature".

8   Umberto Eco, *Semiotics and the Philosophy of Language* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 40: *"the tentative and hazardous tracing of a system of signification rules which will allow the sign to acquire its meaning"*. See also Umberto Eco, "Abduction in Uqbar", in *Limits of interpretation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 156–162. However, for practical reasons it is necessary to establish certain premises within research – e.g. rules of Latin grammar, to provide an example related to medievalistics. Such limits, however, are neither apparent nor unquestionable.

What are the consequences of all this for historiography as a scientific field? Because historiography cannot confirm the validity of any hypothesis outside the language and the group of scholars, historians have to avoid evoking the past as literature, if they wish to appear as practicians of an explanatory science. Furthermore, they have to devote attention to neighboring disciplines based on an experiment (sociology, anthropology, psychology, and linguistics), in order to confirm the applicability of their selected methods when confronting reality. Similarly, historians should devote attention to developments in mathematics, a discipline which, though allowing only ideal experiments, takes into account the existence of more axiomatic systems and could thus serve as an example of disciplinary consistency.[9]

In the former case, the main limitation is given by the fact that any experiment has a significant impact on the observed subject, besides being based on the mutual interaction between the observer and the observed. In other words, the results of any experiment in sociology, anthropology, psychology, or linguistics are distorted either by physical limits or by the interference of the researcher with the situation in the observed entity. There seems to be no way out of this, and various attempts to overcome it are far from persuasive. If choosing mathematics as a disciplinary model, one is faced with the lack of concordance on the basic axioms which would allow building competitive, mutually independent systems.[10] This radically skeptical view of the nature of historographic production and of its "method" should not be regarded as casting doubts on the importance of that production. Instead, it is meant to clarify the gnoseological position of the discipline of history making. Historical cognition essentially relative and hypothetical (although not basically impossible).

Pekař (and many other historians) sensed this, although he officialy claimed historiography for pure inductive science. Let us return now to the debate about *Legenda Christiani*, specifically to what Milan Skřivánek called the structuralist (or rather systemic, complex) dimension of Pekař's way of thinking.[11]

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9   Acceptance of the existence of more axiomatic sytems dates to the 19th century, when the fifth Euklid's axiom was rejected and alternative, later very useful, geometries were proposed. In this regard, rather intuitively and by means of a specific philosophical language formulated postmodern appeals for plurality must be mentioned, see e.g. Jean-François Lyotard, *Rozepře* (Prague: Filosofia, 1998).

10   Negative aspects connected with a unified paradigm has recently been criticised by some biologists.

11   See below n. 218, p. 53. In contemporary humanities, there is a powerful, explicitly formulated system theory in Emile Durkheim, *The Rules of sociological method* (The Free Press: New York, 1982), 127–136. The author refuses to regard a whole as a sum of its individual parts and articulates the necessity of explanation of social facts on social grounds.

Pekař stood in clear opposition to his opponents who understood Christian's work as a demonstration of a specific historical culture, but treated the relationship between the individual and the complex much more mechanically; for they could not recognize that a complex whole is not just the sum of its components.[12] Pekař's implicit way of thinking and the ideas of his opponents thus appear here as an ahistoric train of thought which regarded the past as essentially different from the present and gaining its own value.[13] This understanding of the past allowed the chronological classification of phenomena. It also involved the idea (never explicitly expressed) of a specifically "tenth-century man", as well as of a specifically "tenth-century work" with a specific language and way of thinking.[14]

Participants in the debate can then be classified on the basis of the degree to which they adhered to the above-mentioned model. Many of Pekař's opponents reasoned as follows: for all x (if x is a tenth-century legend), some properties of y necessarily apply. When in dispute, the validity of any scholarly statements is measured by reference to the set of fixed, postulated properties y.[15]

On the other hand, Pekař and Ludvíkovský strove to demonstrate that changes can take place in the field of properties y, referring to the existence of

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Formulation of system approach appears also in a number of other works, e.g. Marx's *Capital* or, and perhaps firstly, Vico's *New Science*.

12 This is reflected especially in seemingly banal Pekař's embitterment regarding teh fact that his opponents usually argued against some selected proofs and did not consider the reasoning as a whole. It does not seem that this would be a mere sign of Pekař's vanity.

13 Jaroslav Marek, *O Historismu a dějepisectví* (Prague: Academia, 1992), 7–48, esp. 17. Nevertheless, Marek points out the fact that the term historism can have various meanings. Also an opposite way of thinking, which reckons with perpetual laws, with stability in a qualitative sense, can have systematic features. But such a structure cannot be regarded as historically determined. Cf. also Otto G. Oexle, "Geschichte im Zeichen des Historismus: Bemerkungen zum Standart der Geschichtsforschung," *HZ* 238 (1984): 17–55.

14 Paradoxically, even Enlightenment authors think in such a framework. They insist on absolute validity of the values of their times and thus are able to distinguish earlier periods as different. Romanticists approach the past in a similar fashion, only from an inverted viewpoint. Thus, the difference consists rather in self-understanding of Enlighteners and Romanticists than in dissimilarities in their thinking. This idea is also close to historians who work with the term *"mentality,"* see at least František Graus, "Mentalität: Versuch einer Begriffsbestimmung und Methoden der Untersuchung," in *František Graus: Ausgewählte Aufsätze, 1959–1989*, edited by Hans-Jörg Gilomen, Peter Moraw, and Rainer C. Schwinges. VuF 55 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 2002), 371–411.

15 It must be mentioned that a definition of such a set of properties was especially in works of earlier scholars rather intuitive and was not based on systematic study.

such x that can be securely dated to the tenth century, but do not have all the attributes of y. In other words, they refused to accept the idea of a rigid, immutable structure, but were interested instead in the variability of the system in which a part forms a complex whole and vice versa. In this way they demonstrated their awareness of the limits of proof by induction:[16] their methods are in fact abductive and fuzzy (and the method of their opponents inductive and absolute) when considering all consequences. Those who doubted the authenticity of *Legenda Christiani* expected that if elements x1-xn on set X showed some properties, it was a proof that x_n+1 will also show the same properties. When the data set under analysis is ridiculously small and the relevant data are not systematically sorted, everybody can in fact prove everything and anything. Moreover, the methods supposed to reveal the link between the chronological information and the occurrence of a certain phenomenon have their limits; most of them cannot be used for establishing any exact date, and are more successful for building a negative argument.[17] This may also explain why Chaloupecký, Urbánek or Kalandra's studies based on textual criticism failed, while Ludvíkovský's succeeded. The former were in fact based on data sets that were either too small, or were not presented at all.

Since Pekař and Ludvíkovský answered all the expressed objections and formulated a sufficient number of their own positive claims without having to appeal to unconfirmed suppositions (e.g., "now lost" texts or the distrust in the text based on a preconceived idea of the past), they were able to produce a mostly convincing interpretation,[18] which is to be preferred to any other when approaching the medieval legends of Wenceslas and Ludmila.

An excellent example of Pekař's awareness of the limits of textual criticism is the remark in one of his letters, where[19] he points out that there is a substan-

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16   Induction is used particularly in the area of natural numbers. It consists in proving a necessary "transport" of a certain property from x_n to x_n+1, which subsequently makes it possible to state a whole set X, whose members are interrelated, has a given property.

17   In Czech historiography, weak points of proceeding from general rules to concrete cases were pointed out for instance in František Graus, "O 'právně historický' výklad dějin," *ČsČH* 8 (1960): 162–172, at 169–170. It follows that in the cases of more complex systems it is impossible to reconstruct their unambiguous history through knowldege of their essential features.

18   Significance of personal preferences and aesthetic solutions is apparent even in such exact sciences as mathematics and theoretical physics, see Max Planck's statement: *"These two postulates, it seems, cannot be united; and so it comes to this: which promts the question – to which postulate (L–E or A) to give the preference? As to myself, I like Lorentzian is really more congenial,"* quoted from Gerald Holton, "Quanta, Relativity, and Rhetorics", 98.

19   In his letter to Goll of September 9, 1902, Pekař pointed out that *"se stylem se nedá dělat skoro nic (jaký je rozdíl např. mezi Dětmarem Merseburským a Brunonem)./ one gets almost*

tial difference between the style of Bruno of Querfurt and Thietmar who both have been contemporaries educated in the same cathedral school. Because of this, he doubted there was a way we can positively prove Christian really wrote at the end of 10th century just by analysis of his style.[20]

When Kalandra started to use the evidence of rhythmic clausulae, he never systematically analyzed the full text of *Legenda Christiani*.[21] He only found few *clausulae* by coincidence and those he knew from a textbook (!). He believed these *clausulae* were used since the 12th century and were sufficient evidence for him to accept them as an argument against the authenticity of the legend. However Ludvíkovský not only systematically analyzed the legend itself, but he also compared it with other St Wenceslas Legends and with other texts certainly written in the 11th and 12th centuries. By doing this, he received enough data to test Kalandra's statement. For Ludvíkovský it was not enough to find isolated *cursus velox*, but he attempted to compare the density of rhythmic *clausulae* in different texts and only this was, for him, sufficient argument for rejecting the attempts to date *Legenda Christiani* to the 12th century. It was also systematic thinking that enabled one to prove its stylistic unity. In a similar way, Pekař while using only a few words as the arguments for an early dating of *Legenda Christiani*, did not forget to go through other contemporary and later sources to prove that the meaning of the words really changed between 10th and 12th century.

We can also note that Pekař and Ludvíkovský obviously "weighted" their arguments. As they were constructing their argumentation systematically taking the context into consideration, they never used statements like "in this way, this could have never been happening". Going back to the *clausulae*, Ludvíkovský was well aware of the fact that *cursus velox* was used throughout the whole Early Middle Ages, although with different frequency. This was for him the first assumption that led him to prove the occurrence of this phenomenon, rather than use the evidence of a few *clausualae* as a decisive argument for dating of the text. Only the frequency with which they occur in the texts can be accepted as an indication for its dating. I also find very important that – if we consider this debate to be a communicational game – Pekař

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     nothing from a style (e.g. what is the difference between Thietmar of Merseburg and Bruno)", see *Listy úcty a přátelství*, 352.

20   A classic example is Einhard's work, which besides the elaborate *Vita Karoli Magni* includes also the exceedingly simple *Translatio s. Marcelini*. Methods of textual criticism would probably distinguish two authors instead of the one proposed by traditional historical evidence. Thus, these methods can be applied only to works of a similar genre.

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and Ludvíkovský presented their evidence more fully to the readers, and thus devoted more energy to convincing him or her.

However, history is not just a game where we collect the evidence and formulate arguments using the generally acknowledged rules of logic, necessarily leading to the convincing solution. It is not only the the limits of the human body and mind (our and readers of our texts as well) that hinder us (i.e. the inability to prove every bit of information we find in primary sources or in secondary literature), but also the culture we live in and our own personal "world" limits our argumentation and our acceptance of the arguments of previous historians. We have witnessed many times that omitting (or forgetting) arguments of opposing historians was quite a useful weapon in the hands of many participants in our debate about *Legenda Christiani*.[22] However, to acknowledge someone's argument does not always mean to weigh the evidence carefully, but it is often just a comment on how firm or convincing its formulation is. As long lasting debates often appear as a chain of different texts written as a reaction to previous texts, omitting an argument could also cause the chain to break and the forgotten argument to be omitted in the future as well. Bertold Bretholz, with his argument that St Ludmila and her cult could not have been so well developed at the end of 10th century and therefore *Legenda Christiani* could not have been written in that time,[23] is very good example of what I have been saying. First, this very weakly argued assumption is weighed as more substantial evidence than the assertion of a medieval author, Christianus, that he wrote the text when St. Adalbert was Bishop of Prague (983–997) and with his approval. Second, Bretholz's arguments were forgotten and were newly formulated by Petr Kubín, who did not know about his predecessor.[24] Not understanding (intentionally or otherwise) the arguments formulated by opponents also enables one to construct the conflict.

Many participants catagorized their rivals or allies and used this to improve their own position within the debate. Dobrovský, styling himself a continuator of Dobner's criticism, praised his qualities and through this, strengthened his own authority.[25] Similarly, Pekař in his short introduction mentioned *"the erudition and skillfulness"* of Bohuslav Balbín, who found the manuscript of

22   Modern historians do not differ a lot from their medieval predecessors, see Karl J. Heidecker, *The Divorce of Lothar II: Christian Marriage and Political Power in the Carolingian World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010).

23   Bretholz pointed out the doubts two bishops of Prague raised against the sanctity of St. Ludmila in 11th and 12th century, see p. 43; Bretholz, "Cosmas und Christian," 90–91.

24   See p. 119–120; Kubin, "Odpověď na repliku Davida Kalhouse o Kristianovi".

25   See p. 18; Dobrovsky, *Bořivoj's Taufe*, 5.

Legenda Christiani and with whom Pekař shared the same opinion about its authenticity.[26] However, although Pekař called Dobrovský the *"famous founder of Slavic studies"*,[27] he also wrote about *"two deeply rooted convictions"* that together with *"typical historical criticism of that time that measured everything from its point of view"* led Dobrovský to his doubts about the authenticity of the Legend, which was disproved by him by a "few strong words".[28] Only Dobrovský's authority convinced Georg Heinrich Pertz and František Palacký – and their common opinion was enough to persuade anyone else, not so Pekař.[29] Pekař not only referred to the changes in the evidence, but also to the incompetence of the historians between him and Dobrovský in their failure to recognize the importance of this new evidence for dating the St Wenceslas Legends including *Legenda Christiani*.[30] Again, first, Pekař constructed a link between him and Balbín, whom he praised. Second, he weakened Dobrovský's position by criticizing his methods and asserting that it was mainly his authority and the authority of his friends, and not his arguments, that decided the debate for a century. Pekař also placed Dobrovský within the group of problematic people who are always seeing the problems, even where there are none, when he called him a *"hyper-critical researcher without any sense for higher critique"*.[31] Last but not least, Pekař repeatedly mentioned the evidence that should have led famous historians to change their convictions about stema of the oldest St.-Wenceslas-Legends, but did not. By acknowledging at the same moment the greatness of historians of 19th century, who, unlike him, shared Dobrovský's opinion, he makes himself out to be even better.

Constructing the continuities or discontinuities and weakening the opponent by arguments *ad personam* were not typical just for Dobrovský or Pekař. A similar strategy was used e.g. by Záviš Kalandra, who on one side acknowledged the contribution of his natural ally Rudolf Urbánek,[32] but on the other side from the beginning, expressed his dissatisfaction with Pekař's arguments, whose method he regarded as *"not penetrating"*[33] and in whose reconstruction

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26   Pekař, *Die Wenzels- und Ludmilalegenden*, 1: *"Gelehrsamkeit und Geschicklichkeit"*.

27   Ibid., 3.

28   Ibid., 4.

29   Ibid., 5.

30   Ibid., 5–6: *"Es war nur nötig, dass irgendein Forscher Dobrovský's Ausführungen im Hinblick auf die slavische Legende von neuem durchnahm, und ihre Unhaltbarkeit im Ganzen und in Einzelheiten hätte deutlich werden müssen. Allein dies geschah nicht;…"*

31   Josef Pekař, "Nejstarší kronika česká," 478–479. Pekař considered Dobrovský to be *"hyperkritik bez smyslu pro vyšší kritiku historickou"*, conf. ibid., s. 477.

32   Z. Kalandra, "Vznik a prameny Kristiánovy legendy," 582.

33   Ibid., 29.

of the relations between the legends he saw no scholarly precaution.[34] For Petr Kubín, those who took with the knowledge of previous discussions the authenticity of the *Legenda Christiani* as a given fact, used the Legend as a historical source *"rashly"*.

Discussing the rhetoric of studied texts and their implicit logic enables us to understand why some texts are more convincing than others. The analysis of the "external history", however, provides us with insight into the logic of the conflict. First, it enables us to understand why the conflict appeared, second, it explains, why the conflict appeared between certain historians or philologists. We had already noticed that the Legends about St. Wenceslas are key sources for the history of Bohemia (not only) in 10th century. To discuss their filiation means also to express one's own concept of one century of the history of the Czech lands. This is, of course, a prestigious task. Severe competition for material resources and prestige led ca. 1900 to the creation of two groups in Czech historiography, one, more and one less successful. They both differed less in methods and more in the rhetoric they used and their personal afiliations. Novotný and younger Urbánek, although they later got their university professorships, were part of the less successful group, Pekař belonged to the winners. Charles University served here not only as a source of institutional charisma, for to be established as its professor also meant to gain the prestige Pekař and others had collected as a leading Czech scholars through expressing proximity to his theories or distance towards him. The first is certainly true by Kalandra, by Novotný or Urbánek, who both personally disliked Pekař. Pekař's successor and follower Chaloupecký, on the contrary, partially took over his ideas, but even he did not fully accept his master's thesis as he made an effort to formulate his own story – as his heir he needed to present his own concept of Czech history even as his predecessor did. Even this is not that surprising if we consider that in the 20th century innovativeness came to be the standard of research, constructing difference started to be an important strategy to increase the importance of one's own results. Still, the rhetoric he used to evaluate Pekař's theses substantially differed from that of his enemies.

After World War II the conservative thinker Pekař was transformed by communist historiography into a symbol of reaction. However, despite the fact that "pekařovština"[35] started to be a nickname used for unwanted concepts of historiographical thinking, Pekař's filiation of Wenceslas Legends, being in the margin of interest in 1950's, was still generally accepted. Twenty years later, the

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34   Ibid., 30.

35   "Pekařovština" means everything that according to the communist historiography kept reminding one of thinking in Pekař's way.

widely presented image of Pekař as a symbol of reactionary thinker was used by Zdeněk Fiala to weaken his arguments. It is not very surprising that it was Fiala who also intentionally developed the legacy of both Josef Dobrovský and Václav Novotný, both enemies of the authenticity of *Legenda Christiani*.[36]

Still, although there can be no doubt that politics influenced historiography in the Czech lands in the 20th century, most of the discussions were resolved within the group of specialists, and formal education and its rituals kept their importance. The relative independence of the historiographical field was kept at least in the field of medieval history.

As already mentioned,[37] this was just one of many debates in medieval historiography, many of which have remained part of the historiography from the 19th century up to the present. One of these debates is connected with the problem of the supposed borders of the Přemyslid and Piast principalities in last third of 10th century.[38] The evidence used in this debate included two charters. One, called *Dagomę iudex*, was issued by pope and the second one came from the emperor Henry IV (1056–1106). Both of these were preserved in later copies, which led to questions about their authenticity. In this case, we can see that on one side most historians shared the idea that the borders described in those documents mark the boundaries of the early Přemyslid and Piast domains; on the other side, they differed only in details. Even though there was no direct connection between this discussion and the political discourse, we can see that the discussion of the borders of Přemyslid and Piast principalities supported the idea of autonomous and ancient national Czech or Polish states. Discussing these borders and the dating of the documents on which these assumptions were based served as a foundation for historians in their concepts of early Přemyslid and Piast history, as the results of the analysis of those documents also depended on the timeline of Piast expansion based on narrative sources. None of these historians labored under autonomous critical methods, providing us with solutions fully independent of the premises, we have rather to speak about more or less openly formulated concepts based mainly on hidden assumptions.

We might also have a look at the discussions about the authors of Fredegar Chronicle or similar debates about the author(s) of *Annales Fuldenses*, which share some aspects with the debate about authenticity of *Legenda Christiani*, namely that those discussions were not connected with contemporary politics

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36   See Zdeněk Fiala, "Josef Dobrovský a počátky historické kritiky u nás," *ČsČH* 1 (1953): 257–271; Zdeněk Fiala, "Sto let od narození Václava Novotného," *ČsČH* 17 (1969): 377–392.

37   See p. 98, n. 257.

38   Cf. Kalhous, *Anatomy*, 46–104.

and stayed hidden from the eyes of non-professionals. Krusch's theory about three authors of Fredegar Chronicle (A until 613, B until 642 and C after 658) was mainly based on his assumptions about the origin of those authors (A and B should have been working in Burgundy, whereas C was situated in Austrasia).[39] Surprising is the fact that even though Bruno Krusch spent nearly ten pages with very careful and thorough analysis of the language of this Chronicle, he did not base his assumptions about the structure of the text and its authors on that evidence at all.[40] Thus, strictly speaking, his evidence did not enable him to conclude on the existence of three different authors and one compiler partially remaking his sources.

Krusch's theses about Fredegar Chronicle was one of his first articles. When he was summarizing his theory more than 40 years later,[41] he had his allies (Gustav Schnürer) and also his opponents (Ferdinand Lot).[42] We can see that he presented his arguments in the same way his contemporaries discussed the *Legenda Christiani* – carefully enhancing the authority of his allies,[43] or using

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39   Bruno Krusch, "Die Chronicae des sogenannten Fredegar," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für Ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde* 7 (1882): 247–351, 421–516, 424–455. Conf. Ibid., 452: *"Auch bei B lässt sich eine gewisse Vorliebe für den pagus Ultrajoranus nicht leugnen. Er verfehlt niemals, den Namen der Herzöge und Grafen, welche aus diesem Gau stammten, ihre Herkunft beizusetzen."*

40   Ibid., 486–494.

41   Bruno Krusch, "Fredegarius Scholasticus-Oudarius. Neue Beiträge zur Fredegar-Kritik," *Nachrichten der (Königlichen) Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philol.-hist. Klasse* (1926), 237–263.

42   Gustav Schnürer, *Die Verfasser der sogenannten Fredegar-Chronik*, in Collectanea Friburgensia, 9, Freiburg: Commissionsverlag der Universitætsbuchhandlung, 1900; Fedrinand Lot, "Encore la chronique du pseudo-Frédégaire," *Revue historique* 115 (1914), 305–337.

43   Krusch, "Fredegarius Scholasticus-Oudarius," 247: *"G. Schnürer hat mit großer Gründlichkeit die kritische Untersuchung von Neuem unternommen und ist in dem wichtigsten Punkte zu dem gleichen Ergebnis wie ich gelangt, daß nämlich drei Verfasser anzunehmen sind. Mit Befriedigung stellte er am Schlusse (S. 232) diese Übereinstimmung fest und meinte, daß durch sie die Gewißheit erhöht würde, daß das von mir erreichte Ergebnis gegenüber den früher geäußerten Ansichten auf allgemeine Anerkennung rechnen könne."*; ibid., 248: *"Schnürer hatte sich zu weit vorgewagt, aber durchgearbeitet hat er unser Quellenwerk mit großem Fleiß und eben solchem Scharfsinn, und nachdem' an seinen zweifelhaften Annahmen schon mehrfach Kritik geübt ist, geziemt es sich wohl, seine wertvollen Ergebnisse so zu würdigen, wie sie es verdienen. Hierher rechne ich vor allem den Nachweis des Zusammenhanges der Fredegarchroniken mit dem irischen Mönchtum des hl. Columban, in welcher meine Besprechung das Hauptverdienst Schnürers erblickte."*

the authority of famous historians of his times[44] to improve his position in the discussion. Once he evaluated the results of the analysis of someone else, he also made himself an undisputable authority – here we can again easily find parallels in previous dispute.[45]

The excellent analysis of Siegmund Hellman remained unnoticed,[46] although it was he who realized the importance of the analysis of Fredegar's style.[47]

Finally, in the 1960's Walter Goffart formulated the basic assumption that the existence of a single author is by necessity the most simple hypothesis of all and he established the principle that the assertion that there exists more than one author of a given text needs to be proven and not other way round. This is comparable to Pekař's assumption that any text needs to be accepted as authentic, until we prove the opposite.[48] In this context Goffart especially

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44   Ibid., 255: *"Mit Genugtuung stelle ich nun fest, daß Mommsen meine Auffassung als richtig anerkannt hat, und eine von ihm aufgefundene Hs. setzt sie überhaupt außer allen Zweifel."*

45   Conf. n. 43, p. 134 and see also ibid., 248: *"Hier brachte erst die Untersuchung F. Lot s die Reaktion. Er setzte den Einschnitten ein entschiedenes: 'Il est vain' entgegen; die Scheidung von A und B nennt er 'chimerique' und identifiziert zuletzt auch noch Bund C, so daß seine Kritik wieder auf den Standpunkt anlangt, auf dem die Forschung vor mir gestanden hatte. Neugierig wird man sein, wie er sich mit meinen Argumenten abfindet. Die Berechnung von 613 hat nach ihm der Chronist in seiner Hs. der Chroniken des Hieronymus und Idacius bereits vorgefunden, und die austrasischen Zusätze zu der burgundischen Chronik, die er zugiebt, und überhaupt kein Mensch leugnen kann, führt er darauf zurück, daß der burgundische Chronist in austrasische Dienste getreten sei. Dieser früher sehr beliebten, aber doch recht mechanischen Erklärungsweise habe ich von Anfang an den Krieg erklärt; sie gehört zu denjenigen Methoden, die, wie Lot schreibt (S. 321), den beunruhigen, der sie anwendet. Ein schwerer Irrtum würde es sein, wollte man glauben, Lots Kritik habe das Problem gelöst."*; ibid., 260: *"Wenn man sich nach Lots Methode fast nur an die Merkmale späterer Entstehung in den früheren Büchern hält und die Gründe für die allmähliche Entstehung allein als Objekte benutzt, um sie mittelst jener zu widerlegen, muß man wieder zu dem alten Ergebnis kommen daß das Werk das Erzeugnis eines einzigen Verfassers sei. Wenn aber ein so namhafter Geschichtsforscher wie Lot trotz des guten Willens, . . ."*

46   This was pointed out by Walter Goffart, "The Fredegar Problem Reconsidered," *Speculum* 38 (1963), 206–241.

47   Siegmund Hellmann, "Das Fredegar-Problem," *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* 29 (1934), 36–92. Conf. also. Gerard Labuda, *Pierwsze państwo Słowiańskie. Państwo Samona*, (Poznań: Księg. Akademicka, 1949), 52–92.

48   W. Goffart, "The Fredegar Problem Reconsidered," 208: *"It has therefore come to appear as though the idea of unified composition were abandoned or, at least, represented the most difficult position to substantiate. This would only be true if one or the other of the theories of multiple authorship had been decisively proved. The burden of proof rests upon those who challenge the idea of single authorship, and if their attempts fail, the presumption must be that Fredegar is one man. This matter of principle must be made clear at the outset, for it*

brought to our attention the prologue that according to him demonstrated
that at the beginning there must have been one author following one
intention.[49] To prove this thesis Goffart rejected Kursch's attempt to recog-
nize three perspectives of three different authors and to connect them with
concrete areas.[50] Finally, he also built on Hellmann's evidence while trying to
prove the unity of Fredegar's style,[51] eventually disproving Hellman's assump-
tion of two authors.[52] His first argument was Hellmann's sample was very
limited. Second, he second pointed out Book IV is partially based on *"other-
wise unknown Burgundian annals"*.[53] Third, he collected evidence for a unity

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*has been consistently lost sight of in the course of the debate. Single authorship is not a weak
position. It not only represents the normal, simple assumption that should initially be made
about any piece of writing, but is also backed, in this case, by explicit evidence in the prologue.
As will be shown, Krusch's theory faces almost insurmountable objections, and Hellmann's
theory, which has never been subjected to critical scrutiny, rests upon meager evidence of sty-
listic variation, easily counterbalanced by evidence of stylistic unity. But, if debate continued
along the same lines as hitherto, demonstration of the inadequacies of these theories would
have no positive result. Krusch and Hellmann might not have hit upon the solution, but the
presumption would remain that Fredegar's chronicle was the product of several authors. The
mistake of such reasoning is self-evident as soon as it is pointed out. Multiple authorship can-
not be presumed: it must be proved; unless it is, the chronicle must be taken to be the work of
one man."*

49   Ibid. 216–217.

50   Ibid., 218: *"All of these arguments were equally based on emphasizing part of the contents to
the detriment of the rest and thus tended to cancel out one another. The chronicle's place of
origin remains an interesting question, but the evidence is too slim to offer positive support
to any theory of authorship."* Conf. ibid. 220: *"To conclude, the idea that Fredegar's chronicle
was written by a single author does not, as Krusch believed, have the mos maiorum as its only
basis. The prologue scarcely allows for another explanation. So far as other factors are con-
cerned, attempting to establish the chronicle's place of origin is a blind alley; the contents of
Book IV are so diverse, and the possibilities of certitude so remote, that nothing can be made
of this line of argument."*

51   Ibid., 226–227: *"Hellmann broadened the basis for arguing single authorship by accumulat-
ing a series of parallel passages that impressively document the uniformity of style in / all the
original portions of Fredegar's chronicle."*

52   Ibid., 220–, 225–226: *"The attractiveness of Krusch's theory resides in that it was developed
from a pair of synchronisms that otherwise have to be ascribed to accident. . . . In reality,
there is no point in the chronicle where the idea of triple authorship responds to a genuine
need. It must be imposed upon the text, and once there it can neither be applied in detail nor
satisfy objections except by arbitrary methods. It cannot, in the last analysis, override the
prologue and its evidence of single authorship."*

53   Ibid., 228: *"When it comes to a comparison of style, the first thing to note is that the analysis
is conducted on a strikingly small sample. . . . What remains are twenty-four chapters for sec-*

of style.[54] This led him to the conclusion – generally accepted before Bruno Krusch – that Fredegar's Chronicle was written by one person.[55]

As we already noticed, we can see structural similarities between the case of Fredegar and *Legenda Christiani*. First, the analysis at the beginning mainly focused on historical "facts" within the text as a main source of our information about the text itself, although Bruno Krusch carefully described the language of Fredegar as well. Second, the basic assumptions were not clearly defined, although they play the most important role in the whole construction. Third, new methods were used on a limited sample for the first time and due to this those proofs failed.

However, we cannot omit the differences between those discussions either. Discussion about *Legenda Christiani* (and about St.-Wenceslas Legends in general) played a substantially more important role in Czech historiography than the Fredegar-problem held in German or French historiography. This combined with more varied career opportunities for young scholars in Germany and France in those days meant that this discussion neither got the status of one of the key historiographical problems of prominence comparable with the *Legenda Christiani*, nor was it connected with the symbolic value the *Legenda-Christiani*-problem had for Czech medieval historiography. Even though the discussion crossed national borders, I have not noticed chauvinist insinuations in the analytical texts of German or French historians.

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tion one, twenty-five for section two, or in other terms, about 3,000 words as against about 4,000."

54 Ibid., 228–232. Conf. also linguistic analysis of Alvar Erikson, "The Problem of Authorship in the Chronicle of Fredegar," *Eranos*, 63 (1965), 47–76; Roger Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, MGH Studien und Texte, 44, (Hannover: Hahn, 2007).

55 For different perspective of research see Helmut Reimitz, "Die Konkurrenz der Ursprünge in der fränkischen Historiographie," in *Die Suche nach den Ursprüngen. Von der Bedeutung des frühen Mittelalters, Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 8*, edited by Walter Pohl, Wien: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2004, 191–209; Sabine Borchert, "Das Bild Theoderichs des Großen in der Chronik des sogenannten Fredegar," in *Geschehenes und Geschriebenes. Studien zu Ehren von Günther S. Henrich und Klaus-Peter Matschke*, edited by Sebastian Kolditz – Ralf C. Müller, (Leipzig: Eudora-Verl., 2005), 435–452; Adalheidis Plassmann, *Origo gentis. Identitäts- und Legitimitätsstiftung in früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Herkunftserzählungen*, Orbis mediaevalis 7, (Berlin: Akademie, 2006), 147–174.

We might have noticed that "internal" and "external" history are just ideal types and thus intellectual debate and its social context were always two sides of one problem. To formulate specific solutions to problems was also one of the sources of identity for every researcher, because it on one side defined their personal profiles, on the other side the complex set of solutions accepted by every individual researcher distinguished one from another. Argumentation and lists of premises that were accepted by historians and philologists also allowed participants in the discussion to win, and benefit from the victory while acquiring more favorable positions within the hierarchy of the historiographical field. This struggle for prestige was fought through communication, and thanks to this it was under certain controls. I assume it was just this aspect that guaranteed that all of these discussions always stood between purely subjective declarations and purely objective calculations. If we accept a certain rationality[56] of individual readers, we also have to accept the rationality of systematic research, i.e. a specific type of communication, even though this rationality is not necessarily based on economic calculus and basic logics.

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56   By "rational" I mean predictable and seeking for working communication.

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